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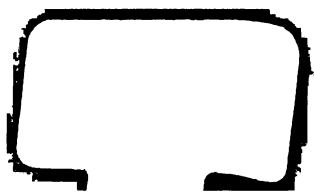
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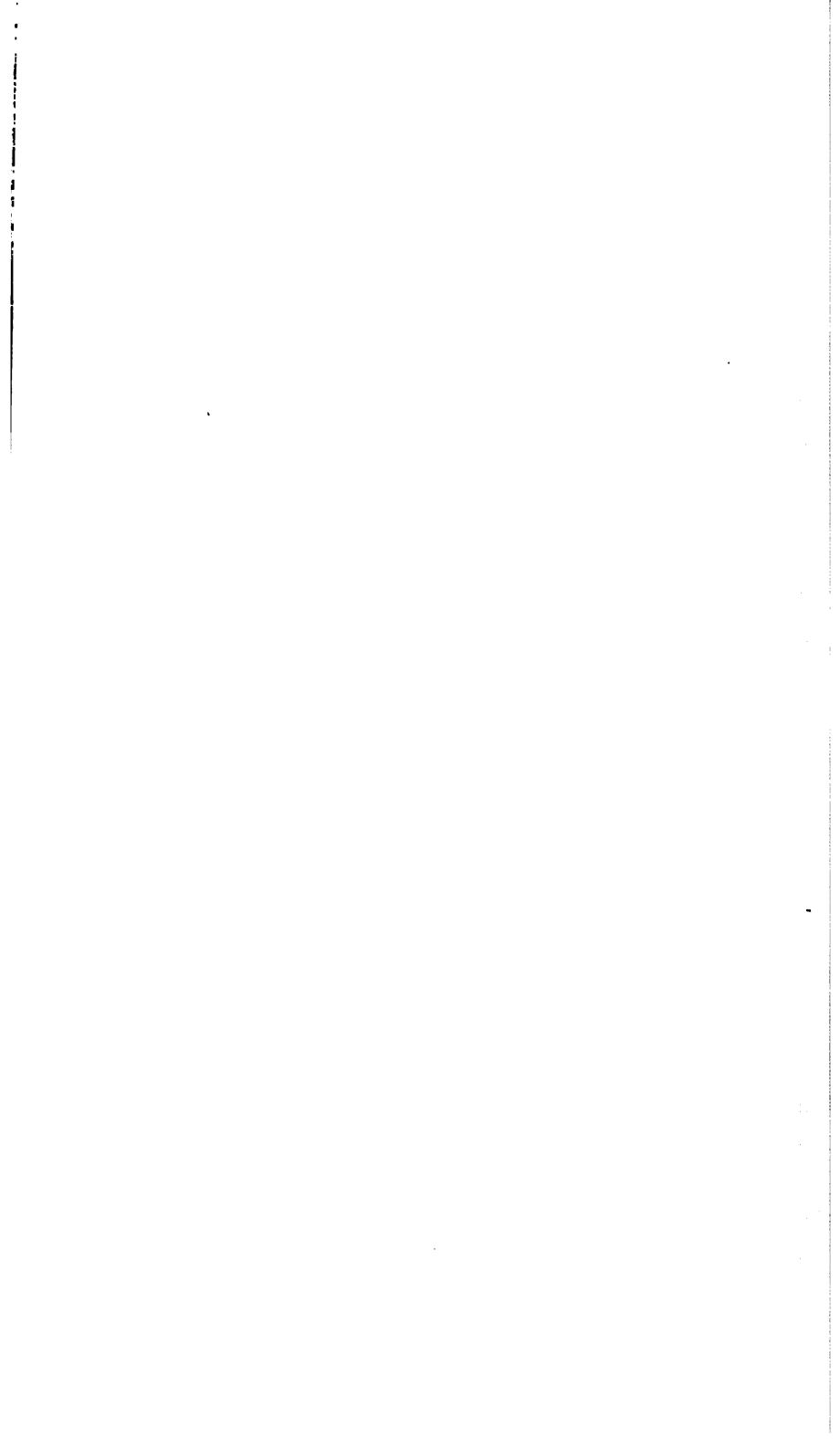
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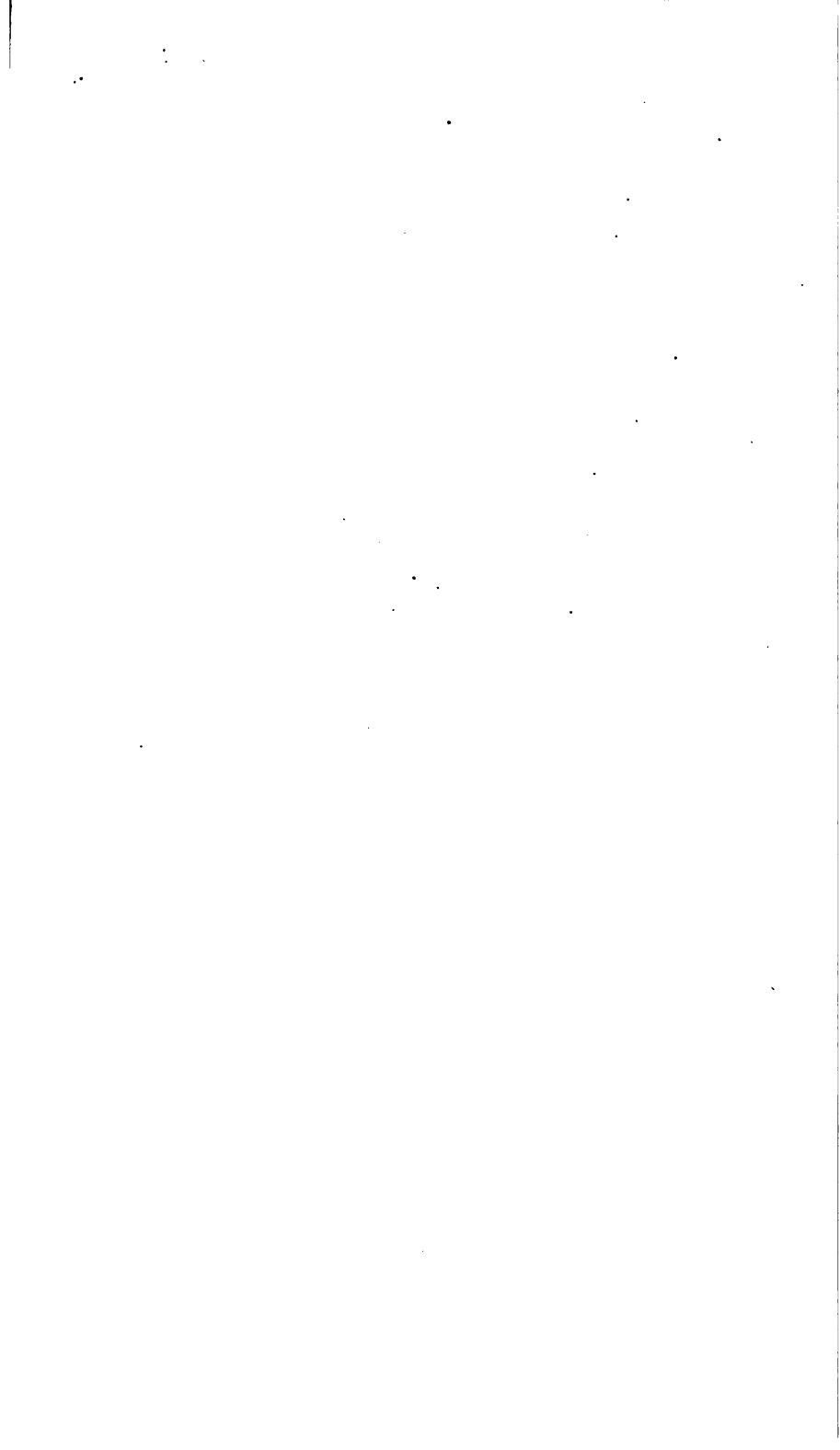
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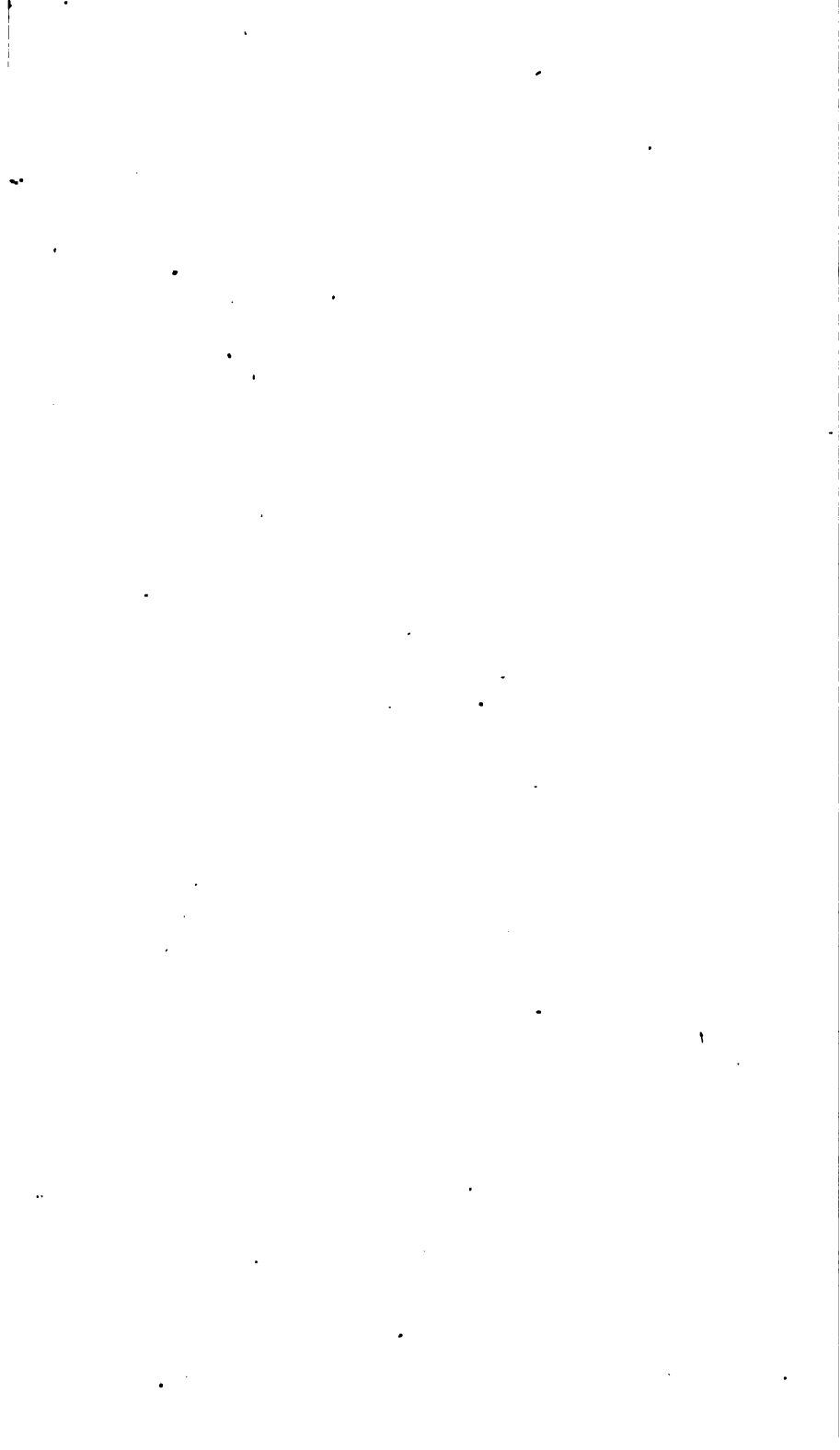








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Heron



HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

VOLUME SECOND;

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY

OF

THE NATIONAL TRANSACTIONS,

AND

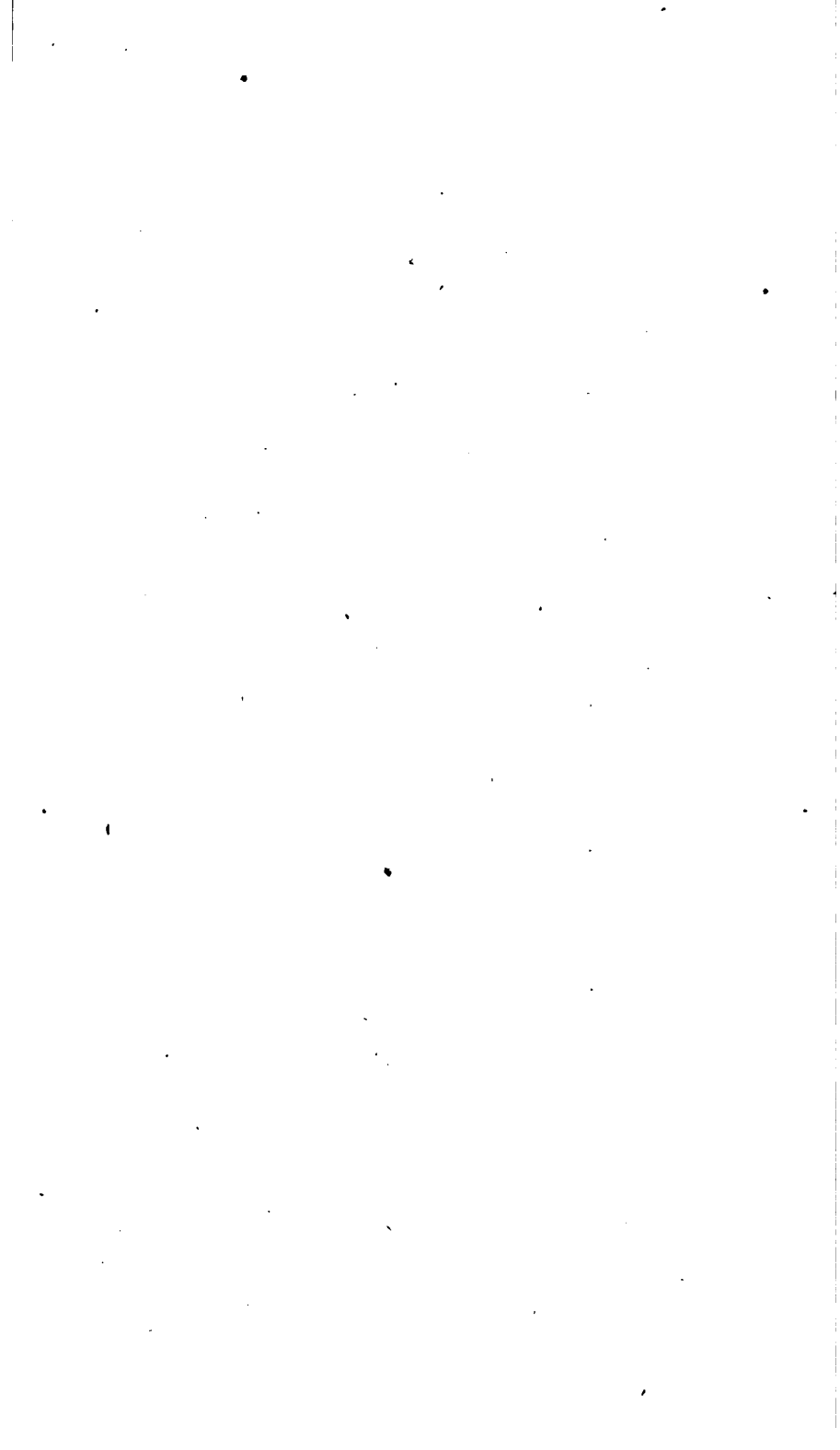
OF THE LABOURS, KNOWLEDGE, AND ENJOYMENTS OF
THE SCOTS;

FROM

THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE THIRD,

TO

THE DEATH OF ROBERT BRUCE.



HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND,
FROM
THE EARLIEST TIMES,
TO THE
ÆRA OF THE ABOLITION
OF THE
HEREDITARY JURISDICTIONS
OF
SUBJECTS,
IN THE YEAR 1748.

BY ROBERT HERON.

VOLUME II.

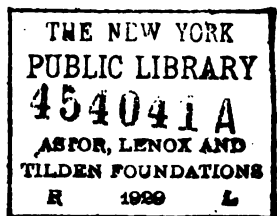
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ADVERTISEMENT.

I PRESENT to the Public the Second Volume of the History of Scotland.

It comprehends one of the busiest and most interesting Periods in the History of the Scots, or perhaps of any other Nation.

I HAVE endeavoured to exhibit all those facts in this period of the Scottish History, of which the truth can now be ascertained. I quote only the Original Historians and the Public Records of the time; because upon the testimony of these alone, must the credit of my narrative depend. But, I have not neglected to consult almost every other writer who has attempted to illustrate any topic connected with the objects of my historical researches.

I OWE the most thankful acknowledgements to the Authors of various, respectable Reviews, and to the Public in general, for the favourable reception of the First Volume of this Work; and for that candid and liberal praise, which has had the natural effect of encouraging me to proceed with more ardent exertion, and with the most anxious care in the prosecution of my undertaking.

I WISH also publicly to express my thanks to those Gentlemen, who having done me the undeserved honour of thinking the credit of the Scottish Nation, to be, in some measure concerned in the perfection and the success of this Work; have obligingly pointed out, and communicated to me, some of the most valuable treasures of authentic, original information.

In the course of my researches, I have had much very agreeable experience of the politeness of Mr *Manners* of the Library of the Faculty of Advocates. My own Collection of Books on the Scottish History, is considerable. Yet, I have been greatly obliged by the *Booksellers of Edinburgh* in general, who have kindly favoured me with the use of many rare books, necessary to my historical studies, but which I was unable to purchase. Messrs *Bell and Bradfute* in particular have, with very liberal kindness, allowed me the free use of many books relating to the History of Scotland, which I know not where I could have found, except in their very large and valuable Collection. To Mr *W. Laing*, well known as a Bookseller uncommonly skilful and diligent in collecting scarce and precious books, I owe similar obligations.

THE subsequent parts of this Work are now in great forwardness; and the whole will be published as speedily as possible.

R. HERON.

EDINBURGH, }
Feb. 11. 1796. }

CON.

C O N T E N T S

OF

THE THIRD BOOK.

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ERRATA.

PAGE 2, Line 2 from foot, for *genereous* read *generous*.

- 87, — 3 ——— dele "*lawful*."
- 98, — 9 ——— for *prompiude* read *promptitude*.
- 134, — 19 ——— for *twined* read *turned*.
- 206, — 10 ——— for *Scotlsb* read *Scottish*.
- 290, — ult. ——— for *Statua* read *Statuta*.
- 305, — 2 ——— for *to have necessarily* read *to have been
necessarily*.
- 323, — 21 ——— for *twice* read *four times*.
- 349, — 8 ——— for *indentifying* read *identifying*.
- 370, — ult. ——— for *Statua* read *Statuta*.
- 407, — 23 ——— for *turned round* read *turned it round*.



HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

B O O K III.

SECTION I.—CHAP. I.

MARGARET of NORWAY.

ALEXANDER the Third, although cut off by a premature death, had survived his children. The heiress of his Crown, was his infant grand-child, MARGARET, whom his daughter of the same name, had born to the King of Norway*. A. D. 1286. Margaret of Norway, heiress of the Crown.

MARGARET was an infant, and, at the time of her grandfather's death, in a foreign country. The immediate government of the kingdom, was therefore committed; by a Convention of the Estates of Parliament, to the administration of six regents; William Frazer, Bishop of St Andrews; Duncan, Earl of Fife; Alexander, Earl of Buchan; Robert Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow; John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch; and James, the Steward of Scotland. But, faction and anarchy distracted the kingdom.

VOL. II.

A

Of

* Fordun. X. 37. XI. 1:—Major, IV. 12:—Buchanan. VIII. Sub initio:—Lesh. VI. 95.

SECT. I.
CHAP. I.

1258.

Of the newly appointed regents ; the Earl of Fife, was soon after assassinated ; the Earl of Buchan died, about the same time, by a natural death ; James the Steward of Scotland, withdrew himself from the counsels of his remaining colleagues, and engaged in a factious combination with some other lords*.

Interference of the Kings of England and Norway.

WHILE these things passed ; the Kings of England, and Norway ; the one, grand-uncle to the infant queen ; the other, her father ; eagerly turned their attention upon the state and temper of the Scots. Edward the First, one of the most valiant and politic monarchs that ever sat on the English throne, was ambitious to seize the present occasion of adding Scotland to the dominions of his Crown, by obtaining Margaret to be the wife of his eldest son. Eric of Norway, asserted his daughter's right to the Scottish throne ; and endeavoured to put her in the undisputed and secure possession of it. After some preliminary negotiations ; in which the favour of all parties, was, in a great degree, conciliated to the wishes of Edward ; ambassadors from the Norwegian King, and from the Scottish regency, repaired to meet English plenipotentiaries, at Salisbury ; where a treaty was concluded among them, in the names of Edward, Eric, and the Scottish

A. D.
1259.

* Forduni Scotichron. XI. 1. 11. 3 :—Buchanani Hist. Lib. VIII. Sub initio :—*Symson's* History of the Family of Stewart, p. 78.

Scottish nation, for the settlement of the affairs of ^{SECT. I.} Scotland, and for preserving to its infant queen, the ^{CHAP. I.} enjoyment of her royal inheritance*.

By this treaty, it was agreed, that, the Scots ^{Treaty between the} should re-establish and maintain civil order and ^{Scottish} tranquillity in their country; that, any of the mem- ^{Nation,} bers of the Scottish regency, of whom the King of ^{and the} Norway might disapprove, should be removed from ^{Kings of} their office; that, Margaret, before she were con- ^{England} tracted in any matrimonial engagement, should be ^{and Nor-} immediately conveyed out of Norway, into Scot- ^{way.} land or England; that, if she should arrive first in England, Edward should then, deliver her, unmarried, to the Scots; but that, upon this last event, the Scots, on their part, should engage, not to give their young Queen in marriage, without the consent of Edward, and of Eric.†.

CONDITIONS more expressly favourable to the po- ^{Farther} litic views of the English King, could not, it should ^{negotia-} seem, be, at this time, obtained by him. But, he ^{tions with} had already applied to the Court of Rome, for a ^{the King} dispensation, to authorize a marriage between his ^{of Nor-} son, and his grand-niece, the Norwegian princefs. Having procured this dispensation, and gained the ^{way.} friendship

* Forduni Scotchron. Lib. XI. C. 1 :—Rymeri Fœdera, T. II. P. 416. 431. 446.

† Forduni S. C. XI. 1 :—Rymeri Fœdera, T. II. P. 446.

SECT. I.
CHAP. I.



A. D.
1290.

friendship of the Scottish rulers; he joined the Scots, in pressing Eric, to fulfil the late treaty, and send home, their Queen. Eric, in the tenderness of fatherly affection, was still reluctant to commit his infant child to strangers. Yet, the importunities and artifices of Edward and the Scots, at length prevailed; the Scots urging the necessities of their government; Edward insisting upon the Papal dispensation, accommodating Eric with the loan of a sum of money, and gratifying his principal courtiers, with pensions*.

Treaty for
the marriage of
Margaret
with the
Prince of
Wales.

IN the mean time, a new treaty was concluded, at Brigham, on the border of Scotland, between Edward, by his ambassadors; and the Scottish nobles and rulers, in the name of their nation. The fundamental article of this treaty, was, the stipulation of a marriage, to be contracted, as soon as it might be convenient, between the Prince of Wales, and the Scottish Queen. The rights and liberties of the Scottish nation, were to remain, for ever inviolable. Scotland was to continue, a separate kingdom, never to be annexed to England, as a dependent province. Feudal homage and services were to be performed by the vassals of the Scottish Crown, in Scotland only. Upon no account, whether civil or criminal, were the

* Rymeri Fœdera, II. 450. 472, 473. Prynne, III. 399.

the Scots to be dragged before courts of justice, beyond the confines of their kingdom. None of the rights or privileges of the Scottish Church, were to be, in any manner, infringed. The order of the government, and the properties and prerogatives of the Crown, were to be preserved, without alienation or diminution, till Margaret should arrive in her dominions*.

SECT. I.
CHAP. I.

HARDLY had this treaty been ratified, when the English King; anxious to secure the advantages which it stipulated to him; appointed one of his subjects, to act, in Scotland, as Lieutenant for his son, and the young Queen; required the Scots to deliver up their principal castles and strong-holds, into his hands; and took various other measures, which shewed him to be more disposed to wrest the terms of the treaty to the purposes of his ambition, than to abide by any of its conditions that were not, even unreasonably favourable to himself†.

Usurpations of Edward, in consequence of the treaty.

By this time, the young Queen, whom her father had, at last, intrusted into the hands of the Scottish and English ambassadors, was on her passage, from Norway, to Scotland. But, the hopes of the Scots, and the projects of Edward, were frustrated

Death of the young Queen of the Scots.

* Rymeri Fœdera, T. II. P. 482. et seq.

† Fœdera, II. 488.

SECT. I.
CHAP. II.

frustrated alike. The child sickened at sea, was brought on shore in Orkney, and there languished, and died. To the Scots, the tidings of her death, were more alarming and sorrowful, than even the unfortunate end of her grandfather. They saw full before them, the unhappy prospect of a disputed succession, war with England, intestine discord. By the death of Margaret, their last pledge of tranquillity and peace, was ravished from them*.

CHAPTER II.

Inter-regnum, and Contentions for the Succession.

Uncertainty of the succession to the Throne.

THE extinction of the progeny of Alexander the Third, left the Scottish throne subject to the claims of a number of pretended heirs; of whom, no one had a title to which the uncertainties of the feudal law of succession could give a decisive and unquestionable preference.

Review of the progress of civility and social institutions in Scotland.

SOCIAL union and civil establishments, had, by this time; as we have seen in the preceding books, advanced to a mighty improvement from the primitive rudeness and instability, in which they appeared in these northern regions, at the æra when the

* Fordun. XI. 1:—Buchanan. L. VIII:—Fæderæ II. 1690:—M. Westmon. 414.

the Scottish name became first known in Britain. SECT. I.
CHAP. II. Petty *bordes* had been combined into communities.

Union or conquest had, by degrees, formed these into one, and that not an inconsiderable kingdom. The piratical incursions of the Norse-men, had, at length, ceased; and their Hebrudian possessions had been ignominiously relinquished. The races of almost all the ancient, independent chieftains, had perished; except that alone, which possessed the Scottish Crown. The forms of feudal dominion; introduced indeed from France, and from England; but in their spirit and regulations, wonderfully congenial to that species of barbarous subordination which had, before, taken place in Scotland; were now at length compleatly established here. Norman knights had, by grant, or by marriage, gained possession of most of the great fiefs under the Scottish Crown. To contentions between petty, independent chieftains, had succeeded, incessant quarrels among rival nobles; rebellions and struggles of the great vassals, against the Crown; wars of the Sovereign upon his subjects, still from time to time, renewed. Tenures of land, were, almost universally feudal. But, the usurpations of the Church; the shortness of the period, during which the feudal law had been fully established; the ignorance of the Age in general; and the universal predominance of force over right or reason; had left the application of the feudal law, to many cases

SECT. I.
CHAP. II.

cases in the practice of society, still but imperfectly ascertained, by either institution or precedent.

Abstract
of the
History of
England,
from the
Conquest.

SINCE the accession of the Norman line, whether by bequest, conquest, or election, to the throne of England; this monarchy, the too formidable neighbour and rival of Scotland, had been animated, in some manner, with a new spirit, and braced with more energetic vigour. The descendents and successors of William of Normandy, were, for the greater part, a valiant and politic race of princes. In the situation in which those of them, who sat on the throne of England, were placed, great qualities were indispensibly necessary. Their powerful vassals were to be kept in subjection; the incursions of the Scots and Welch, were to be continually repressed; the continental possessions of the Royal Family, were still to be manfully defended and maintained; the usurpations of an overgrown and grasping Church, were to be guarded against, and checked. William the Bastard, his sons, William Rufus and Henry the First, Henry the Second, and, in the end, even the feeble and ill-fortuned Henry the Third, proved considerably successful on all hands. The Welch were gradually subdued; the invasions of the Scots were resisted; the continental dominions of the English Kings, were extended, or, at least, little impaired; ambitious and rebellious nobles were still mastered and

and cut off; even the clergy were, by the vigorous ^{SECT. I.} policy of Henry the Second, stopped short in their ^{CHAP. II.} career of usurpation. Edward the First, having been early tried in the troubles of his father's reign; and having, with the gallantry of a Knight-Errant, and a Christian Hero, visited the Holy Land; was mature in years and experience, and had acquired a great character, before the time of his succession to the English throne. There was no immediate subject of his government, so wealthy, powerful, and illustrious, as to be, singly, formidable to the royal authority. Skilfully dispensing his favours to the burgeses and yeomanry; he attached them, in a particular manner, to his person; and raised them, by new immunities and privileges, to a degree of consequence, at which they formed a counterpoise to the power of the nobles. The last remains of Welch freedom and independency, perished by the hands of Edward. Even the obstinate ambition of the Clergy, was compelled to make new concessions to the vigorous and artful authority which he exerted against them. The death of Alexander the Third of Scotland, opened to Edward, a new field for ambitious enterprize. Might he, by marriage, or by arms, unite Scotland, as well as Wales, under his dominion? It would then be easy to enlarge his continental possessions, and to humble his most potent enemy, the King of France. His negotiations for obtaining the heiress

SECT. I.
CHAP. II.



of the Scottish Crown, in marriage, to his son, were indeed frustrated by her death. But, in the course of those negotiations, he had drawn the eyes of the Scottish nation upon himself; had gained a number of secret or open adherents among their nobility; had, in fact, established an influence over them, by which his wishes already directed, in a great measure, their public transactions. Edward was not of a spirit, to yield up this influence, or to relinquish, upon a slight change of circumstances, those sanguine hopes which he had conceived, of reducing Scotland under his dominion. The same artful policy, the same ardent valour, which had subjugated Wales, might sooner or later triumph over the Scots, and unite the whole isle under the sway of a single monarch.

Ireland.

IRELAND had been granted, for conversion and conquest, by Pope Adrian, a man of English extraction, to the English King Henry the Second. Private adventurers from England; and still more, a public and royal force; had, since, made some progress in the conquest of that island. But, their possessions in Ireland, had not yet added any thing to the public and military strength of the English nation; nor had the final conquest of the Irish, as yet become, in any considerable degree, a favourite object of ambition with the English Kings. Yet, the native Irish, although in part, probably of the same

same origin, as the Western and Highland Scots, SECT. I.
CHAP. II. had long been divided from all alliance with Scotland. They were too wildly savage, and too little capable of the extensive views of able policy, to combine with the Scots against the English, the common enemies of the liberties of both. Whatever the changes of princes, of sovereign families, or of forms of government, in Scotland; its fate was, in the present state of things, hardly liable to be, in any measure, influenced by the vicinity of Ireland.

THE Danes and Norwegians had anciently con- Norway,
&c. quered the Scottish Isles; had made themselves, masters of England; had ravaged the coasts of the better half of Europe; and had triumphed, the unrivalled lords of the northern and middle seas. But, their dominion in Britain and its contiguous isles, had been overthrown. Piracy had begun to give place to peaceful commerce. Causes originating in the altered policy and manners of the other nations of Europe; and in the fluctuations of internal order and dominion, among the Scandinavian Powers; had put an end to all that terror and those continual devastations with which the valiant and maritime people of the North, once afflicted the kingdoms of the South. By the failure of the expedition against the Hebrides, the naval force of Norway, suffered an almost irretrievable
 ● loss.

SECT. I.
CHAP. II.

loss. Eric could not now equip an immense fleet ; as some of his ancestors might have done ; and invade Scotland, to claim for himself, the inheritance of his daughter's rights.

France. FRANCE, the rival of England, had, some time before, begun to practise the policy of drawing the Scots to invade England, whenever the English Kings invaded the French dominions. But, this policy had not, as yet, established a regular, political intercourse between the French and the Scots ; nor acquired to the former, any important influence upon the ordinary government, or the revolutions of the latter.

Rome. THE Papal Court of Rome, or sometimes of Avignon, alone, kept a watchful eye upon the transactions of all Christian nations ; maintained, by means of its legates, of missionaries, of the Clergy in general, a constant correspondence with them ; and exerted, at almost all times, a powerful authority, as well upon their civil, as over their ecclesiastical affairs. But, its vigilance, and its interference, were rarely directed to other ends, than the protection of its Clergy, the extension of its own power, and the draining of the wealth of all other countries, through every possible channel, into Italy and Rome, or into Avignon. Its connivance, or even approbation might be won by bribes or concessions, to any fraud in negotiation,

or

or injustice in conquest, however nefarious, and indefensible. If the possessions and privileges of the Church, should be preserved inviolate ; and if, perchance, the authority of Rome or Avignon over the ecclesiastical affairs of Britain, should be increased, and its revenue from the island, augmented ; the Scots might ravage England, the English conquer Scotland, either the one nation or the other prevail, by force or artifices, over their fellow-islanders ; without being interrupted, in their enterprize, by any serious interposition of the Papal Court.

SUCH, then, were, the internal state of Scotland ; its relations to the most contiguous neighbouring kingdoms and courts ; the dispositions of these courts and kingdoms towards the Scottish nation ; and their power to influence its public affairs ; at the time, when, by the extinction of the posterity of Alexander the Third, the succession to the Scottish throne, was laid open to a number of competitors ; and when the ambitious Edward the First of England, appeared to have resolved to add Scotland to his dominions, by artful negotiation, by open war, or by the occasional use of both these means, as changing circumstances might suggest.

BESIDE the King of Norway who claimed the succession to his deceased daughter's kingdom, with small hopes of obtaining it ; there appeared

twelve

SECT. I.
CHAP. II.

Names of
the Com-
petitors.

SECT. I.
CHAP. II.

twelve other competitors for the Scottish Crown ; the genuine or pretended descendents of Donald Bane, the usurper, and brother to Malcolm Canmore, of King William, of King Alexander the Second, of King David, of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother to King William. These competitors were, Florence Earl of Holland, Robert de Pinkeny, William de Ros, Patrick Earl of March, William de Vesci, Patrick Galythly, Nicolas de Soulis, Roger de Mandeville, John Comyn Lord of Badenoch, John Balliol Lord of Galloway, Robert Bruce Lord of Annandale, and John de Hastings*.

Temper of
the Scot-
tish Na-
tion ; and
other cir-
cumstan-
ces favour-
able to
the ambi-
tion of
Edward.

WHILE these competitors urged, or were preparing to urge, their respective claims ; and the Scottish nation were exceedingly divided in their wishes, and perplexed as to their choice : the number of the adherents to the King of England, and his influence upon the affairs of Scotland, were continually augmented. Many of the Scottish nobles, being of Norman origin, were little concerned about maintaining the ancient independency of the Scots : Some possessed estates in England, of which they

* Walsingham, 59 :—Torfœi Hist. Norveg. IV. 381 :—Rymeri Fœdera II. 575, 576, 577, 578, 579 :—Fordun. XI. 1. 2. 12, 13 :—Hæst. Boeth. Hist. LXIV. Folio 303 :—Major. LIV. C. 13 :—Lestœi L. VI. P. 221. Buchanan. L. VIII.

they might be deprived, at Edward's pleasure ; but SECT. I.
CHAP. II. which would be more completely consolidated with their Scottish possessions, by the union of Scotland into one kingdom with England : Others might possibly be seduced by pensions and promises, to favour the views of Edward : Those who could produce no claims of their own, to the regal succession, would be willing to receive for their new Lord, rather one who was already a great monarch, than a person suddenly exalted to sovereign power, from among their equals : Even the competitors were naturally led, each to strive to strengthen his own doubtful claim, by winning Edward's favour : Having hitherto been, all, subjects of Edward, or other sovereigns, these competitors could scarcely feel themselves dishonoured by any homage which Edward might demand from him who should obtain the kingdom of Scotland : That part even, of the Scottish nation, who were concerned, only to terminate the disorder and contention of the present inter-regnum, and to preserve their ancient national independency ; saw no hopes, save in yielding to the predominating influence, and accepting the umpirage, of the English King. By the concurrence or collision of all these different views and interests, the Scots were brought to lay themselves almost at Edward's mercy. *

EDWARD

* Fordun. XI. 3, &c. :—W. Hemingford, I. 31.

SECT. I.
CHAP. II.

A. D.
1297.
Congress
at Nor-
ham.

EDWARD came northwards, toward the Scottish border. His barons of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland ; and, among them, John Balliol and Robert Bruce ; were summoned to attend their sovereign, at Norham ; on the third day of June, in the year one thousand, two hundred and ninety one ; with all those forces which they were, respectively, obliged by the conditions of their tenures, to supply. The Nobles and Clergy of Scotland, were requested to meet him, likewise, at Norham, on an earlier day. Assembling, in compliance with his summons, on the tenth of May, these representatives of the Scottish nation, there heard the English King, for the first time, openly declare his pretensions to the supremacy of Lord Paramount over Scotland. However overawed by his power, or previously won by his artifices ; yet, at this declaration, astonishment and confusion held them all, for some moments, mute. One, bolder than the rest, at last replied ; “ that, concerning this claim of feudal supremacy over Scotland, no determination could be made, while the throne should be vacant.” “ By Holy Edward, whose Crown I wear,” answered the English Monarch, with stern impatience, “ I will vindicate my just rights, or perish in the attempt.” At their request, he, with some difficulty, granted them, a delay till the morrow ; that they might, in the interval, consult

together, and determine among themselves, whether they should then acknowledge him for their Lord Paramount. On the day following, they still declined any definitive answer; and obtained a farther delay for the space of three weeks*.

EDWARD, as it should seem, now perceived, that this first step had been rashly and unseasonably taken. He had probably been deceived by the too flattering representations of his Agents among the Scots; or had, himself, too arrogantly presumed upon his influence over them. But, his Barons, with all the force of the northern counties, were soon to join him; and the presence of an army, thus ready for invasion, would give new weight to his claims. Intrigue, fear, dissension, wavering uncertainty, might, in the mean time, do much to reconcile or subdue the minds of the Scots to his wishes. Policy, therefore, more than weakness, guided him in the measure of granting them time for farther deliberation concerning his demand.

ON the second day of June, he again gave audience to the congregated Scots; not, as before, at Norham; but, in a field opposite to it, on the

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C

Scottish

* Fœdera II. 525:—Walsingham, P. 56:—Fœdera II. 543, 544:—W. Hemmingford, I. 33.

SECT. I.
CHAP. II.

Scottish side of the Tweed. Burnel, Bishop of Bath, and Chancellor of England, there maintained, for the King his master; that the Kings of England were Lords Paramount of Scotland, by a right which they had either actually possessed, or justly claimed, from the most distant Ages; that, the Scots, although required so to do, by King Edward, had produced no evidence, to invalidate his claims upon them; and that, as the claim of the English Crown to the feudal superiority over Scotland, was thus uncontested; Edward, in the character of Lord Paramount of the Scots, would proceed to determine among the competitors for their throne. Of these competitors, eight were present in this assembly, in which the lofty pretensions and resolutions of the English Monarch, were thus loudly declared by his Chancellor. Bruce Lord of Annandale, was of the number. All the competitors for the throne, and all the rest of the Scots who were present, either by open avowal, or by tacit consent, allowed the pretensions of Edward to be well founded, and accepted his umpirage, in the character of Lord Paramount of the kingdom of Scotland. On the day of these remarkable transactions, indeed, John Balliol, whether by chance, or artful design, was absent; but, on the following day, he appeared, and acquiesced in the concessions which the rest had made to the claims of the English Monarch. Burnel then closed this
part

BOOK III.] HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

part of the business, by protesting, in Edward's name, that the King of England, thus recognized to be Lord Paramount of Scotland; although he might not, at present, urge, yet, did not finally relinquish, his right to the absolute and immediate property of this kingdom*.

SECT. I.
CHAP. II.

EDWARD, thus far successful in asserting his own ambitious pretensions; now proceeded towards a judgment among the pretenders to the immediate possession of the Scottish throne; still artfully combining, however, the submission of the Nation and the Pretenders to his Paramount authority, with the progress of the Cause in which he was umpire. Again he himself protested, that the present decision should, in no way affect his own claim, or the claims of his successors, to the immediate sovereignty of Scotland. The competitors, next, with one accord, affixed their seals to a written deed, by which they acknowledged Edward to be Lord Paramount of the kingdom for which they contended; and agreed to abide by his determination. It was then unanimously resolved by the English King, the competitors, and all the other Scots who were present; that, Balliol and Comyn, for themselves and the rest of the competitors who might be satisfied with their choice, should name forty commissioners; that, Bruce should, for himself and the competitors acquiescing in his nomination, name other forty; that,

Farther
transac-
tions at
Upset-
tlington-
Green.

* *Fœdera* II. 544, 545. 549:—Dugdale, Chron. series 24:—*Fœdera* II. 551, &c.

SECT. I.
CHAP. II.

that, to these eighty commissioners, the English King should add twenty-four ; and that, these hundred and four commissioners, thus nominated, should compose a Jury, to examine the respective and comparative merits of the claims of the different competitors, and to report the result of their examination, to Edward, the Lord Paramount and Judge.—The first step taken by these Commissioners, was, to direct the kingdom of Scotland, and its fortresses to be delivered into the hands of Edward ; agreeably to a concession which the competitors had already made ; that, he might have it in his power, to establish in the possession of them, whoever of the competitors should find his claims finally sustained, in preference to those of the rest. The regents, accordingly, surrendered the kingdom ; Edward obliging himself to make full restitution, within two months from the date of his decision upon the claims of the competitors ; and in the mean time, to waste no part of the public revenue, except so much as might be necessary for the unavoidable expences of the government. The castles and fortresses were, in like manner, delivered up by their keepers ; except only the castles of Dundee and Forfar ; which Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, resolutely refused to surrender, till Edward and all the competitors executed a written deed, by which de Umfraville was indemnified for delivering to the English King, those castles which

which he had received in trust, from the Scottish nation. Edward immediately restored to the former regents, the custody of the kingdom; added Bryan Fitzallan to their number; and directed them to confide the Chancellorship, to Alan, Bishop of Caithness, and Walter of Agmodham, jointly. The regents, and many of the Barons now swore fealty to Edward; a humiliating ceremony! which was performed by Mark, Bishop of Sodor (or Sudebays) alone, from among the Clergy. The peace of the King, as Lord Paramount of Scotland, was then proclaimed; and this assembly, which had been prolonged from the second to the fifteenth day of June, was at last adjourned, till the second of August. Upsettlington-Green was the scene of that part of these memorable transactions which passed on the Scottish side of the Tweed*. Copies of the record of all these proceedings, were, by Edward's command, transmitted to different monasteries in England, that they might be engrossed in the chronicles of contemporary history, which were written by the monks†.

Thus; by the vigorous, artful, and dishonest policy of Edward; by the sordid indifference of the Scottish nobles, to the glory and the public interests of their country; by the ambitious servility and

SECT. I.
CHAP. II.

Artifices
of Edward,
and base-
ness of the
Scots in-
dignantly
exposed.

* Fœdera, II. 551, 552, 553. 529.

† W. Hemingford, T. I. P. 36.

SECT. I.
CHAP. II.

and mean-spiritedness of the competitors for the Crown; by the wavering, unwise, and divided counsels of even the more generous and patriotic part of the nation; by the general ignorance of both Scots and English, concerning the truth of the history of their ancestors; by the fraud and perfidy of the Scottish Clergy, who, alone, could have produced documents, to refute the claims of the English King; *was* the independency of the Scots betrayed; and Scotland, subjected, as a fief, to the English Crown! Not the victorious eagles of Rome; not the vengeful incursions of the Provincial Britons; the successful arms of the Northumbrian Angles; nor the more compact, irresistible, and impenetrable armies of the first Norman Monarchs of England; had been able to subjugate the impetuous, restless, invincible valour of the Scots! If the unfortunate captivity of one of their Kings, had brought the Scottish nation to yield up, for a time, the unconquered independency of their kingdom; yet the feudal supremacy yielded to Henry the Second, had been, in no long time after, redeemed from his successor, Richard. The subsequent intercourse of the Scots with the English, of the Sovereigns of Scotland with those of England, had been that of equals with their equals, not of vassals with their Lords*.

THE

* See the first Section of each of the foregoing Books.

THE competitors for the Scottish Throne, now presented their claims to the investigation of the Commissioners. On account of the remoteness of their consanguinity to the last possessors; or from the undeniable falsity of the pretences which they had, at first, held out; all, but the descendents from David Earl of Huntingdon, soon withdrew themselves, or were rejected by the commissioners, out of the competition. The descendents of the Earl of Huntingdon, were Balliol, Bruce, and Hastings. Bruce was the grandson, Balliol and Hastings were the great-grandsons, of their common ancestor; himself the brother of King William, the grandson of King David the First. They were descended from the Earl of Huntingdon by his three daughters; for, he had left no male issue. But, Balliol was the grandson of the eldest sister; Bruce was the son of the second; Hastings, the grandson of the third. A younger sister and her posterity could not inherit, in preference to her elder sisters, or their offspring: A fief, especially a royal fief, or a feudal sovereignty, was indivisible: And the pretensions of Hastings, were, therefore, without much controversy, made to yield to those of Balliol and Bruce. The question between the respective rights of these two competitors, was, indeed, peculiarly difficult of decision. *Ought the GRANDSON of the ELDER, or the SON of the YOUNGER sister, to inherit in preference?* Such a case, in the instance

SECT. I.
CHAP. II.
Investigation of
the claims
of the
Competitors.

SECT. I.
CHAP. II.

instance of royalty, or a great fieff, had not fallen to be decided, since the regular establishment of the feudal law in Scotland; and had, perhaps, rarely, occurred to judicial determination, in any of the other countries of Europe. Even after the weightier cause of the independency of Scotland had been betrayed; and after the number of the competitors, had been reduced to those two; still, so nice and interesting was the question between them; as to cause its progress towards decision, to be attended by the most anxious expectation of all parties*.

Reference
to the
English
Parlia-
ment.

AMIDST the general suspense and anxiety, the Commissioners to whom the examination of the cause had been delegated, were induced to declare themselves unable to discern any sure principles, upon which they might found the decision of a matter so nice and doubtful. Theologians and ca-
suits were consulted in vain. Edward, at last, so managed the affair, as to obtain a reference of it to his own Parliament of England; on account, apparently, of its difficulty; but, in truth, perhaps, for the virtual confirmation of the newly acquired feudal supremacy of the kingdom of England, over that of Scotland. At the summons of their sovereign, the English Parliament assembled at Berwick, on the

* Fordun. &c. :—Fœdera II. 578, 579. 581.

the fifteenth day of October, in the year one thousand, two hundred, and ninety-two. And the question concerning the Scottish succession, was, accordingly, proposed, by Edward, to their determination*.

SECT. I.
CHAP. II.

A. D.
1292.

THEY first assumed these, as the principles on which their judgment was to be founded; that, the laws of England and Scotland, were the true rules for the decision of the present dispute between the two competitors for the Scottish succession; but, that, if those laws should afford no rule sufficiently applicable to the difficulties of the case;—then ought the King, with the advice of his nobles, to frame a new law for the occasion; and that, in general, the succession to the Scottish throne, ought to be regulated in the same manner, as the succession to other fiefs, such as earldoms and baronies, which were, by the nature of the tenure by which they were held, indivisible†.

Principles
of decision,
assumed by
the Par-
liament.

RULES for decision, being thus far ascertained; BRUCE and BALLIOL were admitted to plead their cause before the new tribunal. For BRUCE it was urged;

The cause
pleaded.

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D

THAT,

* Fœdera II. 582.

† Fœdera II. 582.

SECT. I.
CHAP. II.

Argu-
ments for
Bruce.

THAT, Alexander the Second, at a time when he despaired of issue from his own body, had destined BRUCE to succeed him on the throne ; and that, the Scottish nation had bound themselves by an oath, to preserve the succession to their monarchy, upon the event of the death of Margaret of Norway, to whosoever should then be nearest in consanguinity, to Alexander the Third :

THAT, in deciding concerning the succession to a kingdom, the law of nature, unrestricted, unperverted, ought to be respected, in preference to all accidental institutions ; that, laws regulating the rights of vassals, imposed no obligations upon their Lords ; that, although, in the inheritance of private and divisible estates, a preference were usually given to the elder of sister heiresses, yet, in the succession to a kingdom, which was indivisible, it ought not to be so ;—and that, the law of nature, thus unfettered, in this instance, by the forms of feodism, clearly recommended BRUCE, as the rightful heir of the Scottish Crown :

THAT, by the ancient custom of succession to the throne of Scotland, the nearest in blood, had been held to be the next heir ; and the brother had frequently succeeded his brother ; Donald, to Kenneth Macalpine ; Ed, to Constantine ; Donald Bane, to Malcolm Canmore :

THAT,

THAT, in Spain, Savoy, and other foreign coun-^{SECT. I.}
tries, there had been instances of the succession of ^{CHAP. II.}
the son of the second daughter, to the throne, in
preference to the grandson of the eldest daughter :

THAT, a female, as unfit for the functions of
government, was incapable of inheriting a Crown;
that the Crown had been, therefore, without a
lawful possessor, since the death of Alexander the
Third ; and that, as the grandmother of Balliol
had been alive, at the time of that event, but not
the mother of BRUCE,—the latter was, by conse-
quence, the just male heir of the Crown*.

To these specious pretences, it was answered, on ^{Argu-}
the part of BALLIOL ; ^{ments for}
^{Balliol.}

THAT, the destination of Alexander the Second
in favour of Bruce, could not now regulate the
succession to the throne ; because that King had
left heirs from his own body :

THAT, in the Court of Edward, their Lord Pa-
ramount, judgment ought to be given, concerning
the Scottish succession, upon the same principles of
law, as in the case of any other contested fief, sub-
ject to the English Crown :

THAT,

* Fœdera II. 582. 386.

SECT. I.
CHAP. II.

THAT, if, by ancient custom in Scotland, it might be, that the brother, rather than the son of a deceased King, succeeded him; yet, the example was in opposition to the claims of Bruce; for, a man's son was nearer to him, in blood, than his brother;—but that, Donald Bane was confessed, on all hands, to have usurped, not to have lawfully inherited, the throne of his brother, Malcolm the Third :

THAT, whatever might be the practice of foreign countries; the succession to the Scottish throne, was to be regulated, solely by the laws of England and Scotland; by which the posterity of an elder sister, always succeeded, in preference to those of her younger sisters,—to the issue of their common ancestors,—without respect to comparative nearness or remoteness of consanguinity :

THAT, if a female were, in truth, incapable of inheriting a Crown; then, could the right to the Scottish succession, be as little transmitted by the mother of Bruce, to her posterity, as by the grandmother of BALLIOL to *hers*; but that, Bruce, by swearing fealty to the maiden of Norway, had formerly acknowledged females to be sufficiently capable of inheriting royalty*.

SUCH

* Fœdera II. 582. 587.

SUCH were the arguments mutually urged, before Edward and his Parliament, by Bruce and Balliol, in support of their respective claims. Had the Scots been left to determine for themselves, free from foreign influence; the destination of Alexander the Second, and the nearer consanguinity of Bruce, to the Earl of Huntingdon, might perhaps have been more highly respected by them, than the feudal order of succession. But, Edward and his Parliament were anxious to subject the Crown of Scotland to the regulations and restrictions of an English fief. The claims of Bruce were rejected. In vain did Hastings, and the other remoter competitors strive to renew their pretensions. A decision founded upon laws of succession, which still prevail, awarded the Scottish Crown to BALLIOL; and thus ended the competition*.

I

CHAP.

* *Fœdera*, II. 859 :—It is fortunate, that, the original records of these transactions have been preserved: For all the old Scottish Historians have either concealed or misrepresented them.



CHAPTER III.

JOHN BALLIOL.

A. D. 1292.
Balliol's
Accession.

JOHN BALLIOL, having sworn fealty to Edward, was crowned as King of Scotland, at Scone, on the thirtieth day of November, in the year one thousand two hundred and ninety-two. The competitors, and the whole Scottish nation, acquiesced, without farther contention, in the judgment of the English Monarch; and submitted to the fortune of Balliol. *He* was immediately obliged to do homage to the sovereign Lord, from whose hands, he accepted the honours of dependent royalty. Edward then delivered up to his illustrious vassal, those castles, and that custody of the Scottish kingdom, which had been provisionally confided to himself, when he was appealed to, as umpire of the competition. The public writings and records, respecting the affairs of Scotland, during the interregnum, were, equally, delivered to the officers of its new King. The authority of the regents, ceased. From one extremity of the Scottish dominions, to the other, all submitted to Balliol, the vassal of England*.

AT

* W. Hemingsford, I. 37 :—Fœdera II. 593. 602 :—Calendar of Ancient Charters, 332, &c.

AT this period in the progress of these affairs, SECT. I.
CH. III. the parties concerned in them, except perhaps Mutual
disposi-
tions of
the Scots
and En-
glish. the disappointed competitors, had reason to be mutually well satisfied. Edward's ambition had, thus far, been crowned with remarkable and cheaply earned success. John Balliol had been exalted to the sovereignty over those, with whom he was, before, a fellow-vassal; and this, by the event of a competition, in which the claims were numerous, and the advantage of right, extremely doubtful. The Scottish nation saw the succession of their kings, and the order of their government, preserved;—after an alarming failure of the principal branch of their royal family;—without being either wasted by internal anarchy, or overwhelmed by foreign invasion.


BUT, this mutual satisfaction and good will, Causes of
discord
between
them. among these parties, were not to endure. Edward was watchful to seize every opportunity for confirming his newly acquired supremacy over Scotland,—by the frequent exercise of its powers. It was natural, that John Balliol and the Scots, should wish to be reminded, as rarely as possible, of the humiliating subjection to which they had submitted themselves.—A citizen of Berwick who conceived himself to have been injured by some judgment of the regency that administered the public affairs of Scotland, during the dependence of the competition;

SECT. I.
CH. III.



A. D.
1293.

tion ; carried his complaint and petition for redress, not to Balliol, but before Edward ; and obtained from Edward, a fair judicial hearing ; while Balliol in vain remonstrated against the illegality of withdrawing Scottish causes from the Courts of the King of Scotland. On every new occasion, the King of England shewed himself still eager to exercise the authority of Lord Paramount over the Scots, with increasing vigilance and severity. Balliol was, himself, within a short time, summoned to London, to make answer to an appeal from a judgment which he had pronounced against Macduff, grand-uncle to Duncan, the young Earl of Fife. In the English Court, Balliol encountered many indignities, when he appeared there, in obedience to this summons. He was compelled to descend to the humiliation of becoming a party, and to plead his cause in person, before Edward's tribunal. He would have declined submission to the authority which Edward here assumed ; but his remonstrances were haughtily disregarded, and a partial sentence was precipitately pronounced against him. He was condemned to pay damages to Macduff ; and, as a punishment for his refusal to own the authority of Edward and his Court ; it was farther decreed, that three of the principal castles in Scotland, with the towns lying under their protection, should be taken, at least for a time, into the immediate possession of the English. By submissive

missive concessions, he, with difficulty, obtained a SECT. I.
CH. III. delay of the execution of this sentence, till he  should have consulted his People in Scotland, and should have received their advice, how to act*.

To Scotland he immediately returned, indignant A. D.
1293. under disgrace.—His government, since his access- The Scots sion to the throne, had been firm, and wise, yet prepare to conciliating and popular. Sir William Douglas; throw off for assaulting the King's officers, to prevent them the En- from the execution of a sentence of the regal glish yoke. courts; and for the arbitrary assumption of an irregular and tyrannical jurisdiction; had been reduced to submit himself to the King's mercy, fined, and imprisoned. Young Robert Bruce, grandson to the competitor, was enfeoffed in the earldom of Carrick, upon the resignation of his father, with a facility, and with the waving of some formalities, on the part of the King, which shewed Balliol to retain no malicious resentment against this rival family. By an administration conducted in this spirit, Balliol had already begun to unite the minds of the Scots, under his authority, and to win their attachment to his person. They could not patiently endure to see the nation vilified and insulted, in the character of its monarch. They cherished the

VOL. II. E remembrance,

* Fædera II. 596. 604:—Ryley, 158, 159:—Fordun. XI. 15. &c.

SECT. I.
CH. III.



remembrance, rather of their ancient freedom, than of their late base subjection to the English Crown. At the recital of the indignities offered to their Prince, their fury was wound up to the highest pitch. Balliol, who was, in his temper naturally mild, and in his present circumstances, not without fears and suspicions, found it more necessary to soothe, than to inflame them. He once more repaired to the English Court, before he would dare to renounce the fealty he had vowed to Edward, and to encounter him in war.*.

Irritating
measures
of Ed-
ward.

A. D.
1294.

EDWARD was now on the eve of an hostile contest with France. For this reason, he might probably have been willing to soothe the wounded spirit of Balliol, and to temporize with the Scots, till some more favourable occasion for finally crushing them under his yoke: But, he could not, even for a time, restrain his indignation against the man who so soon attempted to assert the ancient independency of a kingdom which he had agreed to hold in vassalage: He could not believe it to be possible for Balliol to neglect availing himself of the advantage which the war with France, would necessarily afford to him, against England: Or, he perhaps despised the impotent resentment of Balliol and the Scots; and wished to drive them, at once, to the utmost extremities

* Fordun. XI. 18:—Fœdera II. 613, 614:—Hæst. Boeth. Lib. XIV. Fo. 304.

mities of hostile opposition. With whatever views; SECT. I.
CH. III. he either confiscated,—or obliged the reluctant owner to surrender,—all the English estates belonging to Balliol,—as an aid towards the defraying of the expences of the French war; he imperiously enjoined the Scots, to detain all ships then in their harbours, and to suffer none to sail for foreign parts, till they should receive his further orders; he haughtily summoned several of the Scottish Barons to join him in arms, that they might attend him into France, and there fight under his banners†.

THE pride of past success, the imperiousness of Spirit of
Edward's
govern-
ment in
England. his temper, and the boldness of his ambition, appear to have hurried Edward, about this time, into some other rash and arbitrary measures, by which even the loyalty of several of his principal English Barons, was shaken.

BALLIOL and the Scots, evaded his demands; and instantly prepared to throw off his yoke. At the request of the Scottish Parliament, their King willingly dismissed from his service, all those Hostile
measures
of the
Scots. Englishmen, who, having been placed about him, by Edward, held offices in his Court. Jealous, as it should seem, even of the purposes of Balliol; the

* Hector Boeth. Lib. XIV. Fo. 304:—Fœdera II. 636. 642, &c.

SECT. I.
CH. III.



the Parliament then nominated a Committee out of their number, whose constant advice was to direct the measures necessary, in this crisis of danger and enterprize, for the public safety. Yet, amidst these bold counsels, it was unaccountably agreed to surrender the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, into the hands of the English, to be possessed by them, as pledges of the fidelity of the Scots, during the war between England and France. But, hardly had this paction been made, when a treaty of alliance, was negotiated and concluded between Philip king of France, and Balliol; who, possessing lands in the French dominions, owed allegiance, as well to this monarch, as to the King of England. Balliol naturally sought the peculiar protection and alliance of that one of his superior Lords, who had it the least in his power to ruin him, and whose interests might even be advanced by *his* aggrandizement: France eagerly encouraged the Scots to harrafs England with an invasion, similar to that with which the French territories were over-run by the English: The Scottish nation rejoiced to find an ally which should draw the strength of England, to waste itself abroad, while they might ravage and plunder the country thus left perhaps, without any sufficient force, to repulse their incursions. Upon these motives of reciprocal interest, was this alliance concluded between France and Scotland.

A. D.
1295.

Scotland. The niece of the King of France, was given, *by it*, in marriage, to the son of Balliol : Balliol engaged to assist Phillip, with his whole force, and without subsidy, whenever Edward should make war, upon France : Philip, on the other hand, agreed to lend powerful and vigorous aid to the Scots, if Edward should invade their territories. This treaty, concluded in the name of the Scottish King, was formally ratified also by the whole nation. They were not slow to fulfil its most arduous condition*.

SECT. I.
CH. III.

Treaty
between
Scot-
land and
France.

A numerous and fierce, but irregular army of Scots; led by the bravest of their nobles; soon passed the English frontier, in hostile array, and advanced through Cumberland. Few of the peasantry could escape their destroying fury; the flocks and herds became their prey; they burnt down the cottages upon their helpless inhabitants; and with savage and unsparing rage, carried desolation and terroure to the walls of Carlisle. Assaulting this city, they were firmly resisted, at the first onset, by the citizens. But, by the besiegers, or by some accident within, the city was set on fire. The defendants, now trembling between assault and conflagration, might probably have

Incurfion
of the
Scots into
Cumber-
land and
Northum-
land.

A. D.
1296.

* Fordun. Lib. XI. 15, 16, 17 :—Hector Boeth. Lib. XIV. 304 :—Fœdera II. 692. 695, &c.

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have been overpowered by the besieging army ; had not their wives rushed into the combat, re-animated their flagging courage, aided their fainting strength, and with those terrible efforts to which despair will, sometimes, for a few moments, excite the softer sex, at last repulsed the Scots, and scattered them in shameful flight. These undisciplined and cowardly spoilers were, however, quickly rallied, and led to ravage the open country of Northumberland. Disappointment and disgrace had exasperated their cruelty. Even the sanctity of religion, could not now save its votaries from their wrath. They burnt to the ground, the nunnery of Lameley, and the monastery of Corebridge ; but, after an ineffectual attempt to take by storm, the castle of Harbottle, again retired in confusion*.

Scotland
invaded
by the
English.

It was the news of Edward's approach, at the head of a great army, that made them, thus precipitately raise the siege of Harbottle-Castle. A fleet by sea, preceded or accompanied, the progress of his land-army. Berwick, although promised, with other towns, had not yet been given up to the English. It was held, at this time, for the Scottish King ; by some Flemings, who, having come into Scotland for the sake of trade, had obtained possessions and immunities in this town, on the

* W. Hemingford, I. 87. 93 :—Matth. Westmon. 427 :—Fordun. XI. 27.

the condition of fighting in its defence, against any hostile assault; by the native townsmen; and by a considerable force from the Scottish army; chiefly men of Fife and Lothian, who had gallantly thrown themselves into the town and its castle, to maintain them against a siege. The English fleet, to the number of eighteen ships, was burnt, or otherwise destroyed, in attempting to force an entrance into the harbour, or to land the soldiers whom it conveyed. But, Edward's land-army were, by this time, at the gates. They assaulted, took, and sacked the town; massacring its inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age. For a while the gallant Flemings, from a house named the *Red-Hall*, withstood every effort of English valour. This house was, at last, set on fire; and they perished in the flames. Douglas, who commanded in the castle, soon after surrendered it, by a capitulation; by which he and the other survivors of the garrison, to the number of two hundred men; having first sworn, never again to bear arms against the King of England, were then permitted to march out, and retire, in military order and array. Stratagem and skilful conduct probably contributed to this first success of Edward's expedition, not less than the strength and ardent valour of his troops*.

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Berwick
taken.

2

BUT,

* Fordun. XI. 20 :—Hect. Boeth. Lib. XIV. Fo. 305 :—Hemingford, I. 89. 91.

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Balliol and
the Scots
renounce
their ho-
mage to
Edward.

BUT, the spirit of Balliol and the Scots, was not broken, by the ill success of their first expedition, or by the loss of this strong town, the master-key of their south-east frontier. They had drawn the sword; and they seemed now to throw away the scabbard. Henry, abbot of Aberbrothwick, was dispatched to Edward, with the perilous commission of notifying to this proud king, thus enraged by opposition, and flushed with victory; that Balliol disclaimed his homage; and that the Scots would no longer respect him, as Lord Paramount of their kingdom; because Edward had unnecessarily summoned Balliol to his Courts; because he had unjustly confiscated Balliol's English estates; because he had seized, by violence, other goods belonging to the Scots and their king; because he had even carried away, and unlawfully detained a number of Scottish subjects; and finally, because he had scornfully disregarded all Balliol's remonstrances against these acts of insult and oppression. The bold monk, in the discharge of this commission, addressed himself to Edward in person. It seemed to afford, to this monarch, a new and more plausible pretext for the invasion he was prosecuting. "The silly traitor!" said Edward, in disdain, "if he come not to us; we will go to him!" Balliol's envoy waited no farther reply, but hastily retired from the King's presence, and fled with speed, out of the English camp*.

AND

* Fordun. XI. 18 :—Fœdera II. 707 :—Boeth. XIV. 304.

AND yet, the Scots were not all unanimous with Balliol, in this defiance of the King of England. In the defection of Balliol, and in the vigour with which Edward proceeded to subdue and punish his rebellious vassal, the Bruces seemed to themselves, to see the hopes of royalty, rise again fair, before them. They were induced to take part with England, against Balliol, and against the independency of the Scots, with the expectation of yet obtaining from Edward's generosity, the forfeited kingdom of the rival, whose claims had been preferred to theirs. Edward well knew, how to turn these hopes to his own present advantage, without binding himself to gratify them in the end. By means of the Bruces, he contrived to divide the strength of the Scots; and perhaps to sow dissension and perfidy in their councils. The Bruces, with all their vassals, dependents, and adherents, joined the English; a defection, by which the hands of Balliol, and those who remained with him, were greatly weakened*.

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The Bruces join the English.

MEANWHILE, a division of the English army, was detached, under Earl Warenne, to besiege the castle of Dunbar; which was still in the hands of the Scots who took part with Balliol; although its proprietor, the Earl of March, now followed the

The Scots defeated near Dunbar.

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banners

* Fordun. XI. 18, &c.

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banners of the King of England. The whole force of the defenders of Scottish independence ; again mustered, after their late disasters ; advanced, on the other hand ; to protect Dunbar ; and to give battle to the English army, ere they should carry the invasion farther into the kingdom. Already were the garrison in Dunbar-Castle, reduced to such difficulties, or so favourably disposed towards the English ; that they had agreed to yield up the castle, unless relief from Scotland, should, within three days, arrive, to raise the siege. On the third day, the Scottish army appeared on the heights above Dunbar. So advantageously posted, they might have maintained their ground, with victory, against the attack of a much superior force. But, sitting inactive in this situation, they could not relieve the castle. They rushed down, with imprudent precipitation, and in disorder, to assail the besiegers. Warenne drew out his troops, to receive them. Fatigued and breathless by their eager descent from the heights ; thrown, at the same time, into entire confusion ; ill armed, undisciplined, disobedient to command ; opposed by compact, hostile squadrons, of fresh troops, in compleat armour ; and aided by no gallant sally from the castle ; the Scottish army were quickly routed. Many were slain on the field of battle, or in their straggling flight ; some, among whom was the Earl of Ross, found a momentary refuge in the castle ;

castle; the Earls of Marre and Athole, with their followers, made their escape in good time, out of the battle; Sir Patrick Graham and some few others, with a heroism which, although hopeless of success, disdained the ignominy of retreat; continued desperately fighting, after they were deserted by their countrymen, till, at last, they fell, in the midst of their enemies; covered with wounds; yet rather wearied out by their own brave efforts, than laid low by the valour of those who opposed them*.

EDWARD, with the rear-division of his army, came up, on the next day after this battle. Seward, who commanded in the castle of Dunbar, was now obliged to surrender it to the English, at discretion. With the garrison, those fugitives from the late battle, who had sought refuge in the castle, fell, likewise, into the hands of the victors. In vain did the Scottish King and his Parliament, now emit an edict, expelling all English ecclesiastics out of such benefices, as they might hold in Scotland; confiscate the estates of those Scottish subjects, who took part with England, or stood neutral, in the present contest; and even bestow upon Comyn Earl of Buchan, the estates of Bruce. It was now too late, to rouse timidity or indifference, to elude perfidy,

* Fordun. XI. 24, 25 :—Hector Boeth. XIV. Fo. 305 :—Hemingford, I. 94.

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perfidy, or to disarm rebellion. The Scots who were yet faithful to their country, could not muster another army, to oppose the progress of the invaders. Their remaining castles were either weak by the nature of their architecture, or weakly garrisoned, or slenderly furnished with arms and provisions. From Berwick, the English army proceeded to invest the castle of Roxburgh. It was yielded to them, almost at the first summons, by James the Steward of Scotland, who commanded in it; and who now eagerly deserted the cause of Balliol, abjured the Scottish alliance with France, and swore fealty to Edward. The English army then advancing, unopposed, to Edinburgh; this castle was also surrendered, after a short and feeble defence. Stirling-Castle was abandoned by the Scots, even before the English reached it. Balliol and his adherents continued their flight to the Eastern Grampians; perhaps vainly hoping, that the poverty of the country, and the intermediate marshes, forests, hills, and rivers, might, here, at length, save them from Edward's farther pursuit. But it should seem, that Edward had made provision for every exigency. His fleet probably advanced along the coast; while his land-army pressed through the interior country, and overtook the fleeing Scots, at Forfar. The Comyns, the strength of Balliol's party, having here yielded, and made their
their

their peace with the English King ; Balliol himself, soon after, submitted to Edward's mercy*.

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HIS pardon was purchased by concessions the most disgraceful and humiliating ; by the resignation of his kingdom, as forfeited ; and the confession, that he was unworthy to reign. He and his son were then conducted into England ; there, for a while, detained in confinement ; but, at length dismissed to France. A man wavering and timid, as John Balliol appears from these events, to have been ; servile in his ambition ; having neither the prudence to bear patiently the yoke to which he had submitted ; nor sufficient energy of character to vindicate, through every variety of fortune, the independency of his Crown ; the miserable tool,—at one time, of Edward's ambitious policy,—at another of the proud and furious patriotism of the Scottish nobles ; was altogether unfit to occupy a throne in this turbulent age ; to contend with a neighbour, so powerful, politic, and warlike ; or to maintain the restraints of government over a fierce and barbarous people*.

THE Crown, thus confessedly forfeited by Balliol, devolved upon Edward, by all the laws and examples of feudal succession. A sovereign was, indeed,

The immediate sovereignty of Scotland, assumed by Edward.

* Fordun. XI. 26 :—Hecst. Boeth. XIV. Fo. 305 :—Hemingford 97.

indeed, in this age, rarely secure against the restlessness or ambition of his great vassals : But, it is likewise true, that, when a vassal stood in the way of his sovereign's ambition, or had provoked his resentment or jealousy ; it was scarcely possible for this vassal, whatever his humility or prudence, so to conduct himself, as that he should not soon afford legal pretences against him, for the forfeiture of his fief, and the ruin of his family. Edward could not but have foreseen, at the time when he artfully reduced Scotland to a feudal dependence on the English Crown ; that pretences would speedily be found, for seizing this regal fief, as a forfeiture, and abolishing the Scottish monarchy. Bruce quickly learned, that he had little advanced his own hopes by contributing to the overthrow of Balliol. “ Have *we* nothing else to do, but to “ conquer kingdoms for *you* ? ” said Edward to him, contemptuously ; when he humbly mentioned his claims to the forfeited fief ; since he was at least after Balliol, the next heir to the Scottish throne. Edward now esteemed himself sovereign of the whole isle ; and determined to hold fast, what his arms and policy had thus gained*.

CHAP.

* Fordun. Lib. XI. Cap. 25, &c.

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CHAPTER IV.

English Usurpation; and Efforts of WALLACE.

EDWARD, having thus broken the strength, and A. D. 1296. conquered the opposition of the Scots, pursued not Edward returns to Berwick. his success farther northwards, than to the burgh of Elgin. The Scottish Clergy and Barons; terrified by the irresistible progress of his arms, and encouraged by his artful and ostentatious clemency; eagerly followed the example of Balliol and the Comyns, made their submissions to the conqueror, and, with a facility little worthy of confidence, acknowledged themselves, his vassals. Returning southward; he suffered his soldiers to ransack and pillage the repositories of the ancient Abbey of Scone; which had been, long, the appropriated scene of the solemn inauguration of the successors to the Scottish sovereignty; and he sent from Scone to Westminster, the famous stone; a monument of the primary rudeness and simplicity of the Scots; on which each succeeding King had been wont to be seated, while the Crown was first set upon his head; and which the Scottish nation are said to have regarded, as a pledge of eternal freedom and empire. Nor is it improbable, that a prince so vigilant, suspicious, and politic; remembering

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membering the use which had been made of records, forged or genuine, in the late contest for the succession; might, at this time, carry away, or destroy, any writings falling into his hands, at Scone or elsewhere, which seemed to afford evidence of the ancient independency of the Scots, in contradiction to his own pretensions.—His presence not being necessary to reduce the western districts into obedience to his authority; he proceeded, without delay, from Scone, to Berwick*.

Transactions in
the Parliament,
at Berwick.

AT Berwick, Edward assembled his Great Council, and applied himself to reward the companions of his success, and to impose laws on the vanquished. However the native sentiments of his heart, might be warped and perverted by ambition, and the practice of reigning; he was not destitute of such virtues as are compatible with the fury of martial heroism, or with the artifices of political cunning. Content with the general and renewed homage of the Clergy and Barons of Scotland; he restored to them, their estates, wherever these had been forfeited, or taken possession of, in his name. To the wives of the prisoners, and the widows of the slain, he allotted a liberal income, out of the estates of their husbands. Even the earldoms,

* Fœdera II. 720:—Fordun. XI. 26:—Hemingford I. 100:—Chart. Scon. 26:—Fœdera II. 728, &c.

earldoms, sheriffdoms, and other offices of jurisdiction, were, for the most part, left in the hands of the same persons by whom their functions had been discharged, under Balliol. In reward for the services of the clergy of Durham, who had supplied his troops with provisions, accompanied his expedition, and fervently prayed for its success; as well as in seeming gratitude to heaven, for victories which were esteemed to have been gained, under the auspices of the holy Cuthbert, and other saints; Edward now assigned to the monks of Durham, an annual pension of forty pounds, to be paid out of the revenues of Scotland: This pension, these monks were to expend in keeping two large wax-candles continually burning before Saint Cuthbert's shrine; and in distributing, twice a year, one penny to each of three thousand poor, who should be invited to their gates. Grimmelby, a Clergyman, who, in the late expedition, had borne the sacred banner of Saint John of Beverley, before the victorious army, obtained from the King a solemn promise of presentation to the first benefice, of twenty pounds, yearly revenue, that should become vacant in the conquered country. De Warenne, de Cressingham, and Ormesby, were appointed, respectively, Governor, Treasurer, and Justiciary of Scotland; and the keeping of the Scottish castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Ayr, with authority over the adjacent territories,

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were also confided to so many Englishmen. When the King had thus settled the affairs of Scotland; he went southward, whither the concerns of his kingdom called him; and left the government of the newly-acquired dominions, to be administered by his servants*.

Circumstances unfavourable to the final establishment of Edward's authority in Scotland.

BUT, the cession of their castles, the allegiance they had sworn, the clemency which they had experienced, could not make the whole Scottish nation sit down, content and unresisting, under the English yoke. It was a strong feature in the character of this rude Age, to undertake, and again to renounce the most solemn engagements, lightly. Superior force might, at any time, command the submission of a weaker adversary; but, the fancies, whether of law, or of religion, were insufficient to preserve the fidelity of those whose alliance or obedience had been thus roughly won, after the imposing force was withdrawn. The great Barons of Scotland, not having, themselves, undisputed authority over all its meaner inhabitants, could not, however willing, bring these to submit, at once, to the English. Although Edward's servants had secure possession of the principal, fortified places

* Prynne, III. 652 :—Fœdera II. 723. 727. 729 :—Fordun. XI. 27 :—Fœdera, 730. 731, 732 :—Hemingford I. 103. 118.

places within the Scottish territories; yet, the country still afforded many natural strong-holds and fastnesses, from which its native inhabitants might bid defiance to strangers. Even the mutual repugnancy of their tempers and spirits, would have been sufficient, without the co-operation of any other cause, to excite dissension between the Scots and the English, and to drive the former into rebellion, where the latter were the lords. Since the death of Alexander, the Scots had not been regularly obedient to the restraints and the subordination of government; and they were, therefore, liable to feel themselves, so much the sooner, galled by a yoke severely imposed by foreign hands.

INFLUENCED by such circumstances and passions, the Scots were, already, almost ripe for a general revolt. Wherever the English were stationed, over the country, tumults and affrays soon arose between them and its native possessors. Cressingham, one of the three principal English ministers, was proud, ignorant, and voluptuous: Ormesby became odious for his cruel severity: Warenne had retired into the North of England. Bands of outlawed Scots wandered through the land; intercepted and seized the convoys of provisions belonging to the English; and whenever they could come, by surprise, upon any slender or straggling party of English soldiers, furiously attacked, and cut them in pieces.

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Inefficacy
of the Eng-
lish Go-
vernment;
discon-
tents; and
insurrec-
tions.

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pieces. The cruelties and precautions of the English were, every day, multiplied; but, instead of repressing, served only to strengthen the resistance of the Scots, and to exasperate their discontent. Those who made open opposition to the oppressors, were secretly favoured and encouraged by the rest of their countrymen, who had not yet dared to assert their freedom, with the same bold valour. From outlaws and mean persons, the spirit of revolt, soon ascended to those very nobles, who had been lately the most forward in their submission to Edward*.

Character
of Wal-
lace.

YET, these discontents and this opposition might have passed, without producing any useful or permanent effects; had not a Hero arisen, to vindicate the liberties of Scotland, whose rank was so mean, and his possessions so small, as to place him below the atmosphere of those intrigues, by which most of the Scottish nobles were seduced to betray their country for the sake of private advantage to themselves; whose fortune, powers, and personal abilities were, therefore, overlooked, as too inconsiderable to deserve either to be gained or suppressed, till he had injured the English, beyond the hopes of forgiveness; whose gigantic strength, dauntless ferocity

* Hemingford I. 110:—Trivet. 299:—A. Winton, Chron:—Fordun. XI. 28:—Harry's Life of Wallace.

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ferocity of spirit, unmatched dexterity and skill in the exercises of war, the generosity of his nature, and the captivating, yet overawing superiority of his genius, won his countrymen to enlist themselves under his protection and command, and at the same time enabled him to lead them, with victory, through the most desperate enterprizes against their enemies ; whose soul, a stranger to sordid and selfish cares, burned, only, with inextinguishable hatred against the English, with a lofty and passionate consciousness of the powers which he bore within himself, with ardour for martial glory, with a love of his country, surviving every variety of fortune, and to expire, but with his latest breath*.

SUCH was WILLIAM WALLACE. He appears to have been the son of a small landholder, who possessed the estate of Ellerslee, near Paisley, in the shire of Renfrew. It is probable, that, in the progress of his years, he had not greatly exceeded the age of opening manhood, at the time when his country was subdued by the English. Moved by the native boldness and gallantry of his spirit, by the injuries of his family, or perhaps by the unhappy effects of some sudden and accidental encounters ; he soon proved himself, the terrible and irreconcilable enemy of those conquerors and oppressors

* Fordun. XI. 28 :—Blind Harry, *passim*, &c. &c.

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preffors of Scotland. Many of his first deeds of heroism, although imperfectly commemorated in the rude and doubtful tale of the minstrel; have, unluckily, been preserved by no records, upon the evidence of which, they might be confidently received into the pages of authentic history. But, within less than a year after the late conquest, he had made himself so advantageously known to his countrymen; that he was joined by a number of partizans; among whom was Sir William Douglas, with some others of considerable rank*.

He draws
together a
numerous
army.

A. D.
1297.

In the month of May, in the year one thousand two hundred and ninety-seven, Wallace and his followers made a bold attempt to surprize Ormesby, the English Justiciary, while he held his Court at Scone. Ormesby, with difficulty, escaped; leaving Scone and the neighbouring territory in the power of the Scottish insurgents. Flushed with this success, Wallace now pursued, and harraffed or cut off the English, wherever they were not secure within fortifications impregnable to any force or means of assault that he could, as yet, bring against them. Every daring and fortunate enterprize in which he engaged, brought more illustrious associates to aid his patriot efforts, and new bands of warriors, to fight under his banner.

From

* Fordun. ut supra :—Blind Harry, passim.

From the north-east, he passed towards the western districts of the kingdom; and, as he proceeded, the terrour or glory of his name, hatred of the English, or perhaps rekindling virtue, added to his adherents, almost every distinguished character among the Scottish nobility; till his force was, at length, augmented to a numerous army. Even young BRUCE, the grandson of the *Competitor*, deceiving the vigilance of the English, fled from among them; renounced, with indignation, the allegiance he had vowed to Edward; ardently embraced the cause of his country, and drew his sword with Wallace*.

THE English were awakened by these events, from their dream of final conquest, and secure possession. Their King was now absent, on a fruitless expedition to recover the Province of Guienne, in France; which had been lately wrested from him, by the crafty policy of the French King. But, Warenne, who had been left governor of Scotland, hastily mustered a body of troops, and dispatched them, under the command of Sir Henry Piercy and Sir Robert Clifford, to overtake the Scottish insurgents in their progress through the western districts, and to crush their rebellion.

When

* Hemingford I. 118, 119:—Trivet. 299:—Fordun. XI. 21, &c.

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This army
pursued by
the Eng-
lish; over-
taken near
Irvine;
and dis-
persed.

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When the English came up, the Scottish army was advantageously posted on a hill, near the town of Irvine ; the whole strength of the insurrection was there assembled, and they out-numbered the enemy ; Wallace was at their head, or among their principal leaders ; in that courage which consists in fearlessness of personal danger, and in fury against the foe, they were not deficient. But, few of them were accoutred with compleat, defensive armour, or wore any formidable weapons for offence ; they were disorderly, and of tempers too impatient, to endure the restraints of discipline ; having assembled spontaneously, they acknowledged no just, military subordination ; in the face of an English army, some of the associates of Wallace, again wavered in their choice between patriotism and servitude ; and amidst the general confusion, discord, and irresolution of the Scottish troops, Richard de Lundin, one of their chieftains, openly deserted, with his friends and followers, to the enemy. The example was, in part, quickly imitated by Bruce, the Stewart, Lindsay, and Douglas ; who, with their adherents, made submission to Edward's officers, and thus obtained their pardon, and were, once more reconciled to the English government. For the fidelity of Bruce to this new engagement, sureties were required ; and it was agreed, that he should, as soon as possible, free these, by delivering his daughter Marjory, into

the hands of the English, as an hostage. Without <sup>SECT. I.
CH. IV.</sup> a battle, the strength of the Scottish insurgents, was, in this manner, broken; and the authority of the English, irresistibly restored in the Western and Southern parts of Scotland*.

YET, Wallace was still unconquered, unawed, uncorrupted. He had taken no part in those negotiations of his irresolute and fickle associates; and he scornfully refused to accede to their treaty. Abandoned by almost all his late adherents; he now, thought, only, how he might best escape the <sup>Heroic
constancy
of Wal-
lace to his
country's
cause.</sup> pursuit, and annoy the authority of the English, by his single exertions; and how he might, most successfully muster another force, to besiege their castles, or meet their armies in the field. He retired, through Lennox, to the northern provinces of the kingdom, lying beyond the isthmus between the Forth and the Clyde. New followers soon joined him; he was ardently admired, as the only faithful defender of the liberties of his country; those by whom he had been forsaken, were execrated, as its cowardly betrayers. Even the vassals and dependents of Douglas, and the other barons who had made their peace with Edward's ministers, soon returned, to follow Wallace, in con-

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* Hemingford I. 122, 123, 124:—Fœdera II. 774, 775, 772. 782.

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tempt of the fealty claimed by their lords. The authors of the treaty, unable to fulfil their engagements, and not finding themselves in safety among their enraged countrymen, surrendered their persons into the hands of the English. Wallace, after executing several less important enterprizes, led his increasing forces, to besiege the town of Dundee*.

Wallace
and his
followers
meet the
English at
Stirling.

WARENNE, Cressingham, and the other English leaders, in the mean time, prepared to pursue Wallace into the North; and advanced, with their army, towards Stirling. At the news of their approach; Wallace, relinquishing the siege of Dundee, hastened to guard the important pass between the Ochil Hills, and the Grampian Mountains; and while the English army came on, to cross the Forth, by the bridge at Stirling, they suddenly beheld the defenders of Scottish freedom, posted on a rising ground near the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, and ready to oppose their passage. Warenne was willing again to try the same arts of negotiation by which his lieutenants had broken and dispersed the Scottish army, at Irvine. But, Wallace was not now, as then, surrounded by perfidious and wavering barons, by whom his firm purposes might have been thwarted or controuled. Sir Andrew Moray

* Hemingford I. 124:—Trivet. 300:—Fordun. XI. 29.

Moray of Bothwell, the most eminent among the <sup>SECT. I.
CH. IV.</sup> companions of his present enterprize, was steady and ardent in his patriotism, as Wallace; incapable of abandoning his friend and leader; or of betraying the cause of his country. To two friars, sent by Warrenne, to offer fair conditions of peace and mutual reconciliation, the only answer of Wallace and his followers, was; "Go, tell your masters, we came not here, to treat, but to fight, and set Scotland free: Let them *advance*: We bid them defiance." It was peculiarly fortunate, that the Scots, impatient as they were, for battle, could, for this once, be persuaded to await the attack of the enemy; without rushing, with mad precipitation, to begin the combat under local disadvantages. At the entrance of a pass between mountains; on a rising ground; having, on their front, a river, which could not be readily crossed, otherwise, than by a narrow, wooden bridge; the Scots possessed advantages of posture, more than sufficient to compensate their inferiority in numbers, discipline, and martial equipment*.

THE English commanders, disappointed in their attempts to disperse the Scottish force by negotiation; now hesitated and disagreed in their counsels;

* Hemingsford I. 126, 127:—Trivet. 307:—Fordun. XI. 29.

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Councils
of the
English
Leaders.

fels; not knowing, how to draw the Scots into an equal engagement; yet being indignant at their defiance; and impatient to answer it with defeat and slaughter. The English army, if it should attempt to march along the bridge, in a single file, in order to attack the Scots in their camp; would thus forfeit the benefit of its superiority in numbers; and would, most probably, perish, piecemeal, by the fury of the Scots. It would be disgraceful; perhaps, for want of forage and provisions, impossible; for the English, to remain inactive at Stirling, till Wallace's army should be dissolved by dissension or hunger. Were the English leaders to withdraw their forces from Stirling, and to endeavour to penetrate into the North of Scotland by some different passage; Wallace might then rush into the southern counties; waste and occupy these, at his pleasure; and preclude the return of the English, till they should fall an easy prey to their enemies, among the unknown marshes and mountains of the Scottish Highlands. Richard de Lunding, now with the English, and faithful to their interests, proposed to conduct a part of the army up the bank of the river, to a ford, by which they might pass, in a body, and with little danger. But, he was a Scot; and not to be trusted, in his own country, and so near to his countrymen. Deliberation proved fruitless. Despising enemies whom they had been, for some time, accustomed to conquer;

quer ; and urged on, by the ignorant and foolish SECT. I. Cu. IV. impetuosity of Creffingham ; the English, at last, determined to file along the bridge, at whatever peril, and to attack the Scots in their camp*.

As the English forces, with Creffingham at their Battle of Stirling. head, began to cross the river ; Wallace slowly led down his troops, and advanced to meet them. Ere half the English army could pass the bridge ; while those who had passed, were still on unequal ground, in disorder, crowded together, and unable to use their arms ; the Scots rushed upon them, with an onset, irregular, but inconceivably impetuous. The confusion of the English ; now, receding at one end of the bridge ; at the other, advancing ; here struggling to expand themselves into the order of battle ; there, already turning their backs to the furious foe ; exposed them, helplessly, to almost unresisted slaughter. The boasting Creffingham was among the first that fell ; and the Scots even wreaked their rage, in hacking and mangling his lifeless corpse. Amidst the tumult of the battle, the wooden bridge was broken down ; and the English who had crossed the river, were thus left a prey to the Scots, without the possibility of escape ; while Warrene and that part of his A. D. 1297. army, which remained on the opposite bank, could only

* Hemingford :—Trivet :—Fordun. ut supra.

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CH. IV.

only behold the carnage, with sorrow, terrour, and unavailing rage. Their predominant emotions were, of terrour. They burnt their tents; abandoned their baggage; and hastened back, in disorderly flight, to Berwick*.

Death of
Moray of
Bothwell.

THE Scots atchieved this signal victory, without suffering any considerable loss in the battle. But, among the few who fell, was the brave Andrew Moray of Bothwell, the most faithful companion of Wallace's heroic enterprizes†.

Consequence of
the victory
at Stirling.

THE news of the discomfiture and flight of the English army, was soon known throughout Scotland. All who had hitherto borne the English yoke, without resistance; or had been but secretly or partially, the partizans of Scottish freedom; now took arms; and eagerly hastened to join the heroes who had conquered at Stirling; or stormed those castles which were still held for Edward, in different parts of the kingdom. Wallace wasted no time in idle triumph, or in vain lamentation for his fallen friends. From Stirling, he impatiently returned, to renew the siege of the castle of Dundee. It was surrendered by the garrison, as soon as they saw him and his victorious followers, again appear before its ramparts,—with weapons still red with the blood of *their* slaughtered countrymen. The other castles and strongholds, were, in a like manner,

* Hemingford I. 127. 130:—Fordun. XI. 29.

† Fordun. XI. 29.

manner, recovered; and their English garrisons <sup>SECT. I.
CH. IV.</sup> were massacred, made prisoners, or driven away in terrified flight. Scotland was thus, once more freed from the tyranny of a foreign master; and the power of its government, remained, for a time, with Wallace and his followers, its deliverers. Wallace; by a sort of irregular assumption or appointment, founded in the exigencies of the time; and in the plausible consent of those who had fought and conquered with him; became, in name and in authority, Regent of the kingdom; while he and the whole nation still professed allegiance to the exiled Balliol; and declared, that their contest was not less for his rights, than for their own*.

BUT, these gallant votaries of what they conceived to be Freedom, now saw their country terribly afflicted, and themselves in danger of perishing, by a famine; the necessary consequence of the continued devastations of war, in a land, naturally so little fertile, and so uncultivated. To supply their wants, therefore, out of the spoil of their enemies; and to retaliate the miseries which had been inflicted on themselves; they, with one accord, determined to invade England. Berwick was quickly retaken. And, almost all the military force that Scotland could muster, pouring, furious and unrestrained, into the northern counties of England; did not merely ravage these districts by a hasty and passing

* Fordun. XI. 29 :—Anderson, Diplomata, Plate 44.

SECT. I.
CH. IV.

passing incursion ; but, like an host of locusts, consumed every thing over the face of the country, which could serve for sustenance to man or beast ; nor returned home, till they had reduced it to a state of extreme desolation. Wallace, with little success, strove to restrain his followers and fellow-soldiers, from outrages against women, children, and ecclesiastics. His protection was insufficient to save persons or property from the fury and rapacity of his troops, unless where he was, himself, immediately present. “ Only with me ;” said he to the monks of Hexham, complaining of the rapacious violence of the Scottish army ; “ only with me, can you be safe.” But, Edward was pursuing his wars in Flanders ; and, no English army came, to meet, and drive away the spoilers. After desolating the English territories, as far southward, as he could prudently venture to advance ; Wallace led his forces back into Scotland, in the exultation of triumph, and with abundance of booty*.

A. D.
1293.

The Eng-
lish pre-
pare to
invade
Scotland.

In the mean time, Edward returned from Flanders ; weary of an expedition, of the objects of which, he had been disappointed ; and called home, by the cries of his English subjects, to protect them against the inroads of the Scots. He, in vain, summoned the Scottish Barons to attend a Parliament, which he appointed to be held in the city of York. Even his English Barons, taking ad-

vantage

* Hemingford I. 131. 136, &c.

vantage of the present situation of his affairs, ex-<sup>SECT. I.
CH. IV.</sup> torted from him, in this Parliament, some concessions, favourable to their liberties, by which his pride was, not a little, mortified, and his power restricted. But, after these transactions, the English eagerly seconded the indignation of their King. Another conquest of Scotland, was passionately determined upon. An English army of more than seventy thousand infantry and horsemen, speedily advanced, with their Sovereign at their head, to Berwick. While this main army was assembling, or advancing on its march; a separate detachment, which the Earl of Pembroke had conducted by sea, to the coast of Fife, was there defeated by Wallace*.

IN the mean time, the Scots, aware of Edward's ^{The Scots make ready for their defence.} approach, with a mightier force, endeavoured to muster all their strength, to oppose him. The most eminent of the barons, who now prepared, with Wallace, to repulse this formidable invasion, were, young Comyn of Badenoch; Bruce who had once more deserted from the English, to the cause of his country; Stewart of Bonkill; Graham of Abercorn; and Macduff, grand-uncle to the young Earl of Fife, and formerly, the adversary of Balliol. Bruce, with his vassals, held for the Scots, the important castle of Ayr. The rest hastily drew together their followers, in the interior districts†.

VOL. II.

I

EDWARD

* Hemingsford I. 144, 145. 159:—Arnaldi Blair Relationes.

† Heming. I. 166:—Trivet. 314:—Winton:—Blind Harry, &c.

SECT. I.
CH. IV.

Progress,
and diffi-
culties of
the Eng-
lish King.

Mutiny in
the Eng-
lish camp.

A. D.
1298.

EDWARD came onwards, with his army. The castle of Dirleton, alone, offered a vigorous resistance to his progress through the south-east counties. It at length, surrendered to Beck, Bishop of Durham, to whom its siege had been committed. But, Scotland, laid waste, equally by its native inhabitants, and by the invaders, could no longer afford sustenance to the English host. Until his ships, laden with provisions, which followed around the western coasts, should arrive in the Frith of Clyde; Edward was obliged to halt on his march, and to make his troops encamp at Kirkliston, between Edinburgh and Linlithgow. Here, the insubordination produced by the general dread, that, while faint with hunger, they might fall a prey to the enemy; and the mutual dislike and animosity prevailing between the Welsh and the English soldiers; were suddenly inflamed to mutiny and tumult; in which the Welsh massacred, among others of the English, no fewer than eighteen ecclesiastics; the English opposed, and retaliated the outrage, with a much greater slaughter of the Welsh; and the Welsh then withdrew, in anger, from obedience to the King's orders, and from the common camp. Edward; seeing his army thus disorderly and disunited; and being disappointed of the arrival of his ships; was reluctantly compelled to command a retreat. But, while he issued his orders for this purpose, news was brought to him, that
the

the Scots had advanced, in great force, to Falkirk*.

SECT. I.
CH. IV.

RETREAT, with an hostile army hanging upon his rear; who were peculiarly expert in desultory and irregular fight; would be, inevitably accompanied with all the ruin and dishonour of an entire defeat. It was highly probable, that, in a pitched battle, the imperfect armour, the rash impetuosity, and the disorder of the Scots, might yield to the English army, even in its present temper and condition, no difficult victory over them. In the circumstances in which Edward saw himself placed, any thing not madly desperate, was to be tried; in preference to a flight; by which, the hopes of Scotland, would have been lost to him; by which, even in England, the previous discontents of his subjects, might have been exasperated and encouraged, to open and general rebellion.

UPON such considerations, Edward was induced to countermand the orders for retreat, and to turn his march against the enemy. On a heath near Linlithgow, his soldiers, halting, passed the night, under arms. While he himself slept on the ground, beside his war-horse; the animal, being accidentally scared, suddenly struck its master, with such violence,

* Trivet. 312 :—Hemingford I. 161, 162.

SECT. I.
CH. IV.

He leads
his army,
to attack
the Scots.

lence, as to break two of his ribs. An uncertain alarm was immediately spread through the army; and confusion ensued, which might perhaps have hurried them into panic flight; had not Edward, with intrepid promptitude of mind, and with a magnanimous disregard of bodily pain, mounted his horse; shewed himself, as uninjured, to his troops; and led them instantly, on, to battle*.

Force and
order of
the Scot-
tish army.

THE Scots were already drawn out, in battle-array, on a stony field, near Falkirk. Wallace, and the principal barons who still adhered to him, were at their head. The spearmen were scattered over the field, in little circular troops, which extended, each, around it, a terrible number and length of pointed weapons. The archers were diffused through the intermediate spaces, among the troops of spearmen. Before, was a morass. Behind, they had a reserved force of a thousand cavalry. "I have brought you to the ring; dance, 'if you can;'" was the short, soldierly address, with which Wallace, chidingly, encouraged his troops to generous and obstinate valour, in the beginning combat. His heroic ardour, and his encouragements, were rendered unavailing; by the inferiority of his force; by the dissensions in his army; and particularly by the jealousy with which

* Hemingford I. 163, &c.

which he himself now began to be regarded by
most of the Chieftains*.

SECT. I.
CH. IV.

THE strength of the army which Edward led on, against the Scottish spear-men and archers, was composed of cavalry. He divided them into three divisions or columns; one, commanded by Bigot, Earl Marshal; a second, by Beck, Bishop of Durham; the third, under the immediate orders of the King himself. Bigot, urging on, with the foremost division, to attack the Scots, was suddenly stopped short, by the impassable morafs, behind which they had posted themselves. In the mean time, Beck, with *his* column, avoiding the morafs, furiously attacked the left flank of the Scottish infantry. While these made a gallant re-
sistance to the onset; they were assailed, on the right, by the troops under Bigot; which had, by this time, likewise found their way round the morafs. The Scottish troops of spear-men long kept their ground, impenetrable by any efforts of the English; the archers, with their long bows, made a dreadful havock; but, their cavalry, terrified by the numbers, and the dreadful aspect of the full-armed cavalry of the English; instead of supporting the infantry, when they saw them sorely pressed;

* Hemingford I. 163:—Walsingham 75:—M. Westm. 151:—Fordun. XI. 132:—Wyntowne, B. V.

SECT. I.
CH. IV.



The Eng-
lish victo-
rious.

fed ; withdrew, with base cowardice or treachery, from the field of battle. At the same time, the whole English army came up, to support their two columns which had begun the engagement. All the efforts of Wallace and his brave infantry, were overpowered by numbers. Stewart, Macduff, and Graham, fell on the field of battle. Great was the carnage of their followers, who fought around them, and, even strove to protect their bleeding bodies, after they had fallen. Wallace, when he saw every hope lost, endeavoured to rally the broken remains of his army ; and conducted them by the way of Stirling ; which they burnt ; beyond the Forth. This victory ; gained by the English, without the loss of any distinguished person on their side, except Le Jay, Master of the English Templars,—and the Prior of Torphichen ; made them masters of all the southern, and mid-land districts of Scotland*.

YET, the discomfiture and dispersion of the Scottish army, left the English as much in want of provisions and other necessaries, as they had been, before. The expected fleet did not arrive, with supplies. After proceeding so far into the western districts, that Bruce, dreading his approach, burnt the castle

2

* Hemingford I. 164, 165 :—Fordun. XI. 34 :—Trivet. 313 :—M. Westm. 431.

castle of Ayr, and retired precipitately into Carrick; Edward was, then, obliged to return southward, lest his victorious army should perish by famine. As he passed into England, he wasted Annandale, the paternal estate of the Bruces; and took, and garrisoned their castle of Lochinaben. But, Galloway, and the whole country beyond the Friths of Forth and Clyde, remained still in the possession of those Scots who refused submission to Edward's authority, and resisted his arms*.

SECT. I.
CH. IV.

They re-
turn into
England.

WHILE Edward was busied in England; with difficulty, restraining or soothing the discontents of his subjects, and enticing them by lavish grants of lands in Scotland, to aid him in the farther conquest of this kingdom: The Scots; on their part, again rallied, to defend their liberties, and to expel the English out of their country. Unfortunately, Wallace; overborne by the jealousy of rival Barons; having lost, by the fate of war, all the most faithful and most eminent among his personal friends; disgusted with the commanders of the cavalry, by whom he had been deserted in the battle of Falkirk; and losing, in consequence of miscarriage, that popularity which he had gained by success; from this time ceased to enlighten the counsels, and direct the arms of his countrymen. Comyn, Bruce, and Lamberton Bishop of St Andrews, assumed the authority of guardians of Scotland.

The Scots
renew the
war.

A. D.
1299

* Hemmingford I. 166.

SECT. I.
CH. IV.

land. But, the hero, whose exertions had first roused his countrymen to resist the English with the ardour of patriotism, and the erect spirit of independence; was left to skulk alone, in solitary wilds or fastnesses; and to cherish his love of his country, and inextinguishable hatred of its oppressors, in a condition of hopeless dereliction*.

Siege and
capture of
Stirling-
Castle.

A. D.
1299.

THE first enterprize of the new Regents, was directed against the castle of Stirling. The town had, indeed, been burnt by the Scots, as they fled from Falkirk; but, the castle, not to be demolished by such hasty violence, had been, soon after, seized, and garrisoned by the English. It was peculiarly important, as the master-key of the principal pass into the Scottish Highlands. Edward, therefore, no sooner received notice, that it was besieged, than he anxiously endeavoured to muster a new army, which he might lead into Scotland, to raise the siege. He was at Berwick; where he had appointed the general rendezvous; when his Barons refused to follow him; because it was then, in the beginning of winter, too late in the year, for an expedition into the dreary regions of Scotland; and also, as it should seem, because they had reason to fear, that Edward's success in subduing the
the

* Trivet. 334:—Fædera II. 859:—Wyntowne:—Blind Harry:—Fordun. XI. 35, &c.

the Scots, might serve, at last, to arm him against SECT. I.
CH. IV. their own liberties, Thus vexatiously thwarted in his purposes; he was compelled to send orders to the garrison in Stirling-Castle, to capitulate with the besiegers. The Scots, posting an army at Torwood, to intercept any force that might advance from England, had, from the first attack, urged on, the operations of the siege, with the utmost vigour. Nevertheless, the garrison, although consisting but of a slender troop of sixty archers, held out till they were reduced to the most distressing extremities; and, when they, at last surrendered the castle, obtained from the victors, no dishonourable terms*.

IN the ensuing summer of the year one thousand and three hundred, Edward summoned his Barons Another invasion of Scotland. with their vassals, to attend him on an expedition into Scotland. He entered it, by the western confines, ravaged Annandale, and advancing to Dumfries, there accepted the submission of the inhabitants of Galloway. But, the principal force of the Scots, now aware of their inability to contend with the English army in equal battle, came not down against them, from their fastnesses and mountains. Want of provisions, the refractory spirit of his followers, or the necessities of his other affairs, A. D. 1300.

VOL. II. K prevented

* Trivet. 316 :—Fœdera II. 859 :—Fordun. &c.

SECT. I.
CH. IV.

prevented Edward from pushing his conquests, at at this time, to the remote extremities of the country. The Scots made him offers of their feudal homage, on condition, that he should replace John Balliol on the Scottish throne, should evacuate their territories, and should restore to those who had taken part against him, their confiscated lands. He heard these proposals with indignation. But, while he hesitated in his choice of measures; a message from the Pope, to his astonishment, warned him to depart immediately out of Scotland; because this kingdom was so far from being rightfully subject to the English Crown; that it was, in truth, a fief belonging to the Papal See. This claim; perhaps urged very seasonably for both Edward and the Scots; gave occasion to a truce between the invader and the invaded; in the negotiation of which, the good offices of the French King, were also, happily employed*.

Intrigues
at Rome;
and inter-
ference of
the Pope.

It appears to have been by the intrigues of the Scottish Clergy, aided by the influence of France, that the Pope was induced to interfere in the political concerns of Scotland. The authority of the See of Rome had been remarkably exercised in the cases of Edward's predecessors, Henry the Second and John; and the memory of the efficacy with which,

* Trivet. 316 :—Fœdera II. 868 :—Wyntowne, &c.

which, it had been in those instances exerted, might now compel even the bold spirit of Edward, to shrink and recede before it. Mere paternal kindness, or Christian benevolence, however, could not, in a Court so skilfully and deeply selfish as that of Rome, have had influence sufficient to procure the earnest conciliatory interference of the Holy See; in the present contest between Edward and the Scots. Boniface, the Romish Pontiff was, therefore, to be persuaded, that Scotland having been miraculously converted to Christianity, by the divine virtue of the relics of St Andrew, had, consequently, become a part of the patrimony of the Church. Many of the claims upon which the Bishops of Rome had usurped the better part of their possessions and privileges, rested upon pretences scarcely more just or plausible. He had accordingly dispatched his commands to Edward, with the eagerness of a person deeply interested in the issue, and with the arrogance of one who had power to enforce obedience. The truce, seemingly in compliance with these commands, granted to the Scots, was perhaps not more useful to them, than to the English King. But, the subsequent labours of Edward and the English Parliament, to refute the pretensions of the Pope and the Scots; although tedious and troublesome; were absolutely necessary; if not to convince the Holy Father of the groundlessness of his claims; yet, to satisfy the English

SECT. I.
CH. IV.

A. D.
1300.

SECT. I.
CH. IV.



English Clergy, and the rest of Edward's subjects, that he was not impiously rising in rebellion against the Father of the Christian world, or sacrilegiously violating the rights of the Church*,

Another
ineff. Qual
invasion of
Scotland.

A. D.
1301.

WHEN Edward, with the help of his Parliament, had made answer to the claims of Rome, and the assertions and reasonings upon which these were founded; by assertions no less bold and untrue, and by reasonings equally weak and inconclusive; he then impatiently renewed his preparations against the Scots; with a resolution again to invade them, as soon as the truce should have expired; and not to return, without having accomplished the final conquest of Scotland. About midsummer, he entered Lothian. Having proceeded, without opposition to Linlithgow, he there, for a time, fixed his head-quarters. The hopes of winning the submission of the Scots by gentle measures; or the fear of dangerously entangling his troops among the unknown mountains, vales, and marshes of the western Highlands; or perhaps other causes; prevented him from advancing farther; till a truce was again mediated by the intervention of the French, between him and the nation whose country and liberties he had so often, and hitherto, so fruitlessly invaded. While he kept his army at Linlithgow;

* Fœdera II. 844 :—Fordun. XI. 35 :—Trivet. 319.

Linlithgow, he erected, there, a fortress. His cavalry suffered exceedingly by the severity of the climate, and from want of forage, if not from any rencounters with the enemy*.

By whatever means ; whether by the powerful arguments, or the more powerful gold and intrigues of the English monarch ; the Roman Pontiff was, in the mean time, brought to doubt of the validity of his own claims to the sovereignty of Scotland ; and even of the reasonableness of the obstinate opposition made by the Scots, to the authority over them, which was arrogated by Edward. He addressed the Scottish Bishops, in a tone of bitter reproach ; reprimanding particularly Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, as *a rock of offence*, between the Scottish nation and the king of England ; and enjoining them all, under pain of his Holiness's displeasure, to promote the national peace†.

Sect. I.
Ch. IV.

The Pope
interferes
in behalf
of Edward.

A. D.
1302.

THE second truce expired ; and hostilities were mutually renewed. Edward did not, himself, at this time, come upon another expedition into Scotland ; but, dispatched hither, an army, under the command of John de Segrave. While this general advanced through the south-east counties ; the

* Hemingsford I. 196 :—Trivet. 322 :—Fordun. XII. &c.

† Fœdera II. 904, 905.

SECT. I.
CH. IV.

Success of
the Scots
at Roslin.

A. D.
1302.

the Scots, gaining intelligence of his movements, prepared to meet him. The English army marched in three columns; each at such a distance from the rest, that they could not, all, instantly join, and act together, upon any sudden alarm. At

Roslin, near Edinburgh, the foremost of these columns, was surprized, at day-break, by the appearance of a body of armed Scots, of whose approach the English had been wholly unaware. These Scots were a small, but select band, led by Comyn the Regent, and Simon Frazer. At the first furious onset, they routed, with great slaughter, the English column by which they were opposed; Seagrave himself, its leader, and the commander of the whole army, being, among others, grievously wounded. The second column came up, in terror and confusion, in consequence of the defeat of the first; and having no distinct information concerning the numbers and intentions of the enemy. The Scots, flushed with victory, assailed this second host with new impetuosity. Their fortune was the same, as before; this column was also routed and dispersed. The third column, now informed of what had passed, by fugitives from the two routed divisions, wisely halted on their march; and, instead of rashly hurrying forward to avenge their fellow-soldiers, and regain the glory of the day; were content with receiving those who fled, and with staying the pursuit of the Scots, by the menacing

menacing aspect which they presented at a distance. SECT. I.
CH. IV.
Thus were Edward's hopes, and the fears of the Scots from this expedition, entirely frustrated*.

HAD it not been for the continual distractions Influence
of France,
upon the
progress of
the war.
occasioned to him, by the affairs of his dominions on the continent; Edward would no doubt, have prosecuted the conquest of Scotland, during these years, with more earnest perseverance; and he might, probably, ere this time, have triumphed over all the efforts of the generous defenders of Scottish liberty. Nor is it likely, that the Scots; however brave and patriotic, or however favoured by the inaccessible nature of their remoter provinces; would have so long withstood the arms and the policy of Edward; if they had not been, from time to time, encouraged by the promises, and protected by the intercession of France. An alliance with the Scots, served to the French Kings, to counterbalance, in some measure, the influence which the monarchs of England, possessing extensive fiefs in France, were hence enabled to exert, in opposition to the authority of the French Crown. To the French, it was little less important, than to the Scots themselves, that Scotland should not be subjugated by the English. Those two nations had
one

A. D.
1303.

* Hemingford I. 198:—Trivet. 336:—Fordun. XII. 2, &c.

SECT. I.
CH. IV.

one common interest, as the enemies of England. Commissioners, therefore, from the Scottish nation, at this time, resided at the Court of France, to see that the interests of Scotland might be duly comprehended in all the measures of hostility or negotiation which the French King should pursue, in regard to Edward. Yet, the predominating genius and fortune of Edward, so far prevailed, that a treaty of peace was now concluded between him and Philip, in which the interests of the Scots, were wholly overlooked, and their name not even once mentioned. Upon this event, the dispatches of their Commissioners, could only console them with an assurance, that the King of France, notwithstanding appearances, would not fail to intercede for them, with the King of England, to procure them a truce, and, finally, an happy peace. These Commissioners were themselves cruelly deceived. It was, in order to bend the whole force of his empire against the Scots, that Edward had made peace, at this time, with France. The French had been compelled, basely to sacrifice their Allies, to the care of their own safety. The completion of this treaty of peace between France and England, was the prelude to the absolute conquest of Scotland, by Edward*.

* Fœdera II. 923. 929, &c.

HE had no sooner composed his differences with SECT. I.
CH. IV. the French King, than he mustered all the military New expedition into
Scotland. force of all his dominions, to march against the Scots. They durst not meet him in the open field. They had few castles, except that of Stirling, to block up his passage from the southern to the northern extremity of their territories. He proceeded, without opposition or molestation, to Brechin-Castle; having, as it should seem, avoided the pass by Stirling; and crossed the Forth, at some distance below*. Brechin-Castle was defended by a brave garrison, under the command of the gallant Sir Thomas Maule. It was closely besieged, and assaulted with all the impetuosity that could be exerted by a numerous army, and such military engines, as the art of war employed in this age. In the hottest fury of the assault, Maule shewed himself on the walls, contemptuously wiping away, with a towel, the rubbish which the battering of the besiegers' engines, produced. Amidst this rash and unavailing display of heroism, he was mortally wounded. "May we not now surrender the castle?" said his soldiers, when they saw him fall, "Cowards! surrender!" returned the indignant hero; and, as he uttered these words, expired. Animated by
VOL. II. L his

* It is probable that he crossed the Forth near Alloa; as appears from the date of a public deed in Rymer, T. II. P. 934.

SECT. I.
CH. IV.



his dying exclamation, they renewed their efforts, and till the next day, held out, against the whole fury of the besiegers. Edward, having made himself master of this castle, pursued his victorious career, onwards, to Caithness*.

The Abbey of Dunfermling burnt.

A. D.
1303.

RETURNING southward from Caithness, he spent some part of the winter at Dunfermling. One of the most august and spacious edifices then in Scotland, was the Abbey belonging to the Benedictines, at that place. This venerable building, the English soldiers burnt down, while they wintered here; either of design, and at the command of their sovereign; or by some accident, amidst their tumultuous and riotous triumph. In this abbey, indeed, had the Scottish Parliament, several times, assembled, to concert measures for resistance to the arms and pretensions of Edward; and it might be, on this account, probably, that *it* became an object of the destructive fury of the English. The church and some contiguous houses, were, however, spared, for the accommodation of the monks†.

The Scots finally dispersed.

STIRLING-CASTLE remained still in the possession of an unsubmitting Scottish garrison. It was the only place of strength now in the hands of the gallant

* Hemingford I. 205:—M. Westmon. 446:—Fordun. XII. 3.

† M. Westmon. 446:—Fordun. XII. &c.

gallant defenders of the independence of Scotland. SECT. I.
CH. IV.
 Sir William Oliphant, Commander of the garrison, was resolute to hold out, against a siege, to the last extremity. To intercept the English army on their march from Dunfermling to Stirling, Comyn assembled all the remains of the Scottish forces, on the southern bank of the Forth, at the bridge, by which was the ordinary passage. But, Edward was more wary than to attempt to force the passage; as had been rashly and unfortunately done by Cressingham and Warrene. A ford being, upon examination, discovered, at some distance from the bridge, he there crossed the river, with all his cavalry. When the Scots posted themselves, here, to oppose him, they had trusted more to the advantage of their position, than to their numbers, or actual force. Seeing that he had effected a passage, and approached to attack them, they gave way, and dispersed, with a degree of panic terror*.

THE castle, thus bared of all exterior defence, Siege of
Stirling-
Castle. could not be held by the garrison, with any strong hopes of final success. Yet, the gallant Oliphant, scorning every offer towards a capitulation; and having sworn, when this stronghold was entrusted to his command, to defend it to the last; still nobly retained

* Trivet. 337, &c.

SECT. I.
CH. IV.



tained his purpose. The siege was conducted with the utmost energy. Edward, although now old, fought in person, and exposed himself to danger, with all the ardour, and intrepidity of his youth. Every military engine, and all the artifices of assault, then known, were employed against the besieged. For three months, they continued to hold out. The ditch was now filled up; the out-works were destroyed; many breaches were made in the walls; and the whole castle appeared one pile of ruins. Oliphant, at last, with reluctance, offered to surrender by a capitulation. Edward would not now hearken to his proposals. He, with the other survivors of this heroic garrison, were compelled to yield themselves and the castle, to the discretion of the victors. Edward's sense of the merits of their extraordinary valour, induced him to save their lives, and to spare them the ignominy and pain of being bound with fetters*.

Submis-
sion of the
Scottish
Nobles.
A. D.
1304.

IN the mean time, Comyn, Bruce, and their followers had made their peace with the English King. Their lives, liberties, and estates, were spared to them; but they were threatened with having such pecuniary fines levied upon them, as Edward might think proper to impose. A few others

* Trivet. 337 :—Hemingford I. 205, 206 :—M. Westm. 449 :—Fœdera II. 951 :—Fordun. XII. 4.

others were banished, for terms of a few months or years, from Scotland, or from the whole dominions of Edward. The younger Bruce, grandson to him who offered, himself, a competitor for the Scottish throne, in opposition to Balliol, obtained from Edward, without difficulty, investiture in the feudal possession of the lordship of Annandale, in consequence of his father's death. Yet, suspicious, perhaps of Edward's intentions concerning him, perhaps of unfriendly purposes in some of his countrymen; he entered formally, about this time, into a secret association with Lamberton, Archbishop of St Andrew's, for their mutual co-operation and defence against all persons whose wishes or interests might come in opposition to theirs *.

SECT. I.
CH. IV.

Of all the Scots, Wallace alone was now neither within Edward's power, nor reconciled to his usurpation. Although rejected from the command of the armies of his country, he had not laid aside his ardour for its freedom, nor his hatred against its oppressors. Whether he had gone for a time, abroad, after the defeat at Falkirk; or had retired to temporary secrecy and security in the bosom of his family; or had betaken himself to the Hebrudæ, and the western Highlands, in order to muster if possible, a new band of generous followers, with whom he might again issue forth against his country's

Wallace
betrayed,
tried, and
executed.

* Fordun. L. XII. C. 3, 4 :—Trivet. 334 :—Ryley 369.

SECT. I.
CH. IV.



A. D.
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try's foes: He was, now, at least, in Scotland; but, the place of his retreat, was unknown to the English. Edward could not believe his conquest to be securely his, while Wallace lived. His anxiety to get this hero within his power; and his resolution to put him to death, when all others were spared; sufficiently bespoke the importance of which he estimated Wallace's courage and opposition to be. He who had first excited the Scots to throw off the English yoke; and under whose conduct alone, the Scots had contended with any splendid and effectual success; might again kindle among his countrymen the flame of patriotism and independence; and might thus render Edward's second conquest of Scotland, as fruitless and unavailing, as the first had been. While Edward was, upon these considerations, earnestly using every means to seize Wallace; Ralph de Haliburton, a Scottish prisoner, offered his aid, upon a pretence, that he knew the secret place of the hero's retreat. He was dispatched to Scotland, upon this base undertaking. Whatever might be Haliburton's success; Wallace, it is certain, was soon after betrayed into the hands of the English, by the treachery, as is believed, of Sir John Menteith, to whose honour he had confided himself. He was conducted to London. At Westminster, he was formally arraigned and tried, as a traitor, who had rebelliously made war upon his Lord the King, had

stormed

stormed his castles, burnt his villages, and slain many of his loyal subjects. Wallace acknowledged, that he had made lawful war against the English, had stormed their castles, burnt their villages, and slain many of their warriors : but denied that he was, for this, a traitor ; since Edward never was his King ; but the enemy and oppressor of his country. The hero, thus undaunted, and, in his spirit, unsubdued, was condemned to the death of a traitor. The sentence was executed upon him, with the most malicious cruelty. His head was fixed upon a pinnacle at London ; his mangled limbs were distributed over the Kingdom ; and Edward and his subjects began, at last, to think Scotland effectually subdued, since Wallace was now no more*.

CHAP.

* Fordun. LXII. C. 8 :—T. Walsingham, P. 90 :—Ryley 279 :—Stowe 209 :—M. Westm. 451.

SECT. I.
CH. V.



CHAPTER V.

Establishment made by EDWARD for the Government of Scotland ; and the sudden rebellion of ROBERT BRUCE.

Glory and
views of
Edward.

THE whole island of Great Britain was now reduced under the dominion of the English King. Edward ; second in glory, only to William, the first of the Norman Line, by whom the kingdom of England had been acquired to his descendents ; saw himself conqueror of both the Welsh and the Scots. Should he succeed in permanently establishing his authority over the conquered nations ; the tranquillity of the British dominions, would henceforth be much more secure, than it had hitherto been ; and the military power of the Kings of England, would be mightily augmented. The settling of the government of Scotland, therefore, now became the great object of his concern.

Measures
taken by
him for
settling the
government of
Scotland.

By the advice of Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, of Robert Bruce, and John de Moubray, he summoned a general council of the Scottish nation, to assemble at Perth. These were there required to elect ten Commissioners ; four for the clergy ; four for the military freeholders ; and two for the bur-
gesses,

geffes, and for those who held lands by focage-<sup>SECT. I.
CH. V.</sup> tenure ; who should, in their name, repair to London ; and there give their advice to the King, as he might require them ; in respect to the best mode of establishing regulations for the maintenance of the Royal authority, and for the administration of justice, in Scotland. In compliance with these commands of their conqueror, the Scots, ^{Commissioners} assembling at Perth, delegated the Bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld ; the Abbots of Coupar ^{named for settling the government of Scotland.} and Melrose ; the Earl of Buchan ; John Mowbray ; Robert Keith, Adam Gordon, John de Inchmartin ; and the Earl of March ; instead of whom, upon his failure to attend, Sir John Menteith was afterwards substituted by Edward. These Commissioners, repairing to the English Court ; were there conjoined with twenty other Commissioners, nominated out of the English Parliament ; and the thirty were commanded to deliberate together, for the framing of a new plan for the government of the Scots.

THIS *Commission for settlement and legislation*, agreed ; That the principal officers to administer the King's authority in Scotland, should be, a Guardian and Lieutenant, a Chancellor, a Chamberlain, a Comptroller : That under these there should be Sheriffs in the different counties ; who, after the first general appointment, by the King,

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should,

SECT. I.
CH. V.



Their
plan for
its govern-
ment.

should, in time to come, be subject to be displaced or appointed by the authority of the Guardian and the Chamberlain: That the Guardian and the Chamberlain should likewise name Coroners, to succeed those whom they might find to be unfit for the office: That the castles of Roxburgh and Jedburgh should be in the custody of the Guardian; those of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, and Dunbarton, remaining, respectively, under the care of their present governors, John de Kingston, Peter Luband, Walter Bisset, and John Menteith; that of Kildrummy being committed by Bruce, to some person for whose faithfulness and loyalty, he should be answerable: That the written laws of Scotland, which had been enacted in the reigns of David the First and his successors, should be collected and revised by the Guardian, with the assistance of the other considerable officers of the government; and should be, by them, promulgated and administered, as the ordinary law of the country: That, for the institution of any new laws which the altered circumstances of the Scottish kingdom, might require, Commissioners from the Scottish Parliament, in concert with English Commissioners, nominated by the King, should be occasionally appointed to prepare such laws, and to present them, for the Royal sanction: That persons whose presence in Scotland might be dangerous to the tranquillity of the government, should, with the consent of the
rest

rest of the Scots, enjoying its confidence, be re-
 moved, by the Guardian, out of the kingdom, and
 delivered into the hands of the King's servants in
 England: And that the Commissioners, whether
 Scots or Englishmen, who might, at any time, be
 employed in regulating the affairs of Scotland,
 should be bound by the solemn obligation of an
 oath, to loyalty and faithful secrecy.

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CH. V.

To this plan for the future government of Scot-
 land, framed by the thirty Commissioners, under
 the immediate inspection of their sovereign, Ed-
 ward readily gave his sanction. In the first nomi-
 nation of the great officers, he appointed John de
 Bretagne to be his Lieutenant in Scotland, and
 Guardian of that kingdom; William de Bever-
 cotes to be Chancellor; John de Sandale to be
 Chamberlain; Robert Heron to be Comptroller.
 The justiciaries and the Sheriffs, were partly Scot-
 men, partly Englishmen. A few acts of grace, were
 at the same time, executed by the King, in remission
 of the severe conditions against some individuals
 peculiarly obnoxious, under which the general
 submission of the Scottish nation, had been accept-
 ed. He had committed the fortified places to
 garrisons and governors, either wholly English, or
 at least Scots of undoubted fidelity. However un-
 just those pretensions upon which he had prosecuted
 his conquest; from the conquered he had taken,

Officers
appointed
to admini-
ster it.

SECT. I.
CH. V.

Concilia-
tory mea-
sures, and
hopes of
Edward.

A. D.
1305.

as yet, hardly any thing but the name of an independent nation. In all his enterprizes and measures, he had displayed that mixture of profound and artful policy, military heroism, generous clemency, and unconquerable ambition, which is peculiarly adapted to suppress discontent, and to overawe or overpower opposition. The Scots seemed to be, at last, almost universally reconciled to his dominion; and those of whose power or sentiments, he was, in any degree, jealous, were either honourably detained in his court, or inevitably pursued by the continual vigilance of his confidential officers. Employing, then, such a system of moderate, vigorous, and skilful policy; Edward, with some reason, expected, that the Scottish nation would, henceforth, rest quiet and unresisting, under his government*.

Circum-
stances
tending to
excite a
new insur-
rection in
Scotland.

BUT, the flame was only smothered, not extinguished. The pride and restlessness of a barbarous people, were not to be thus easily subdued. Even conquest, and a gentle use made by the victor, of his pretended rights, could not, at once efface the memory of their ancient, national independence. Balliol had, indeed, relinquished all his pretensions; and his name was, at length, too much despised among the Scots, to be longer used by them, as
the

* Fœdera II. 968, &c.

the watchword of insurrection. But, these very SECT. I.
CH. V. events furnished new encouragement to the ambition, especially of Bruce and Comyn; one or other of whom might, now probably obtain the Scottish Crown, if it could by any means be wrested from the hands of Edward. Even the kindness and clemency of such a man as Edward, were regarded with suspicion and distrust. Wallace was no more; but, his great example was still fresh in the minds of his countrymen: Having been first taught by him, how to resist the invader of their liberty; they now, well knew their own strength and resources*.

THE association, already mutually entered into, Slaughter
of Comyn;
and rebel-
lion of
Bruce. between Bruce and Lamberton, might perhaps have been dictated by their common fears of fraud or tyranny in their newly acknowledged sovereign. Some endeavours towards a similar confederacy, seem to have followed, between Bruce and Comyn. But, the mutual opposition of the interests and views of these two young nobles; and the fierceness of their characters; rendered it impossible for them to be long, if at all, united together in cordial friendship. After residing, for some time, at the English Court, apparently in high favour with the King; Bruce suddenly returned to Scotland;

* Fordun. XII. 5, &c.

SECT. I.
CH. V.

A. D.
1306.

land ; either fleeing Edward's presence, in dread of designs which he might believe to threaten his life ; or conscious of purposes, which, if betrayed to Edward, while he was within the monarch's power, might bring upon him, the fate of a traitor ; or intent to assert, without delay, his claims to the Scottish Crown, and to raise the Scots in immediate insurrection against their English Lords ; or, it may be, simply called by the necessities of his private affairs. Whatever his errand ; he found some of his friends at his castle of Lochmaben in Annandale ; and from them, probably, received information concerning the conduct and intentions of Comyn, by which he was induced to seek an immediate interview with that Chief. Comyn was then at his castle of Dumfries ; and Edward's justiciaries were holding their Courts in the town. Bruce went onwards, having in his company, James Lindsay and Roger Gospatrick. Comyn gave him a meeting, in the church belonging to the convent of the Minorite Friars, at Dumfries. A warm altercation quickly ensued between them. While their passions, language, and mutual offence rose still higher and higher ; Bruce suddenly drew his sword, and plunged it into his rival's breast. Lindsay and Gospatrick, then rushing in, as Comyn fell to the ground, dispatched him with their daggers. With *Red John* Comyn, fell also his uncle, Sir Robert Comyn, in the attempt to defend his nephew's

nephew's life. This assassination, while it removed ^{SECT. I.} a competitor, left Bruce small hopes of again ob- ^{CH. V.} taining his pardon from Edward. If he had before meditated rebellion; this was a bold deed in the outset of his daring career: If he had hitherto cherished no such ambitious purpose; yet, the slaughter of Comyn, in a sacred place, by making him despair of forgiveness, naturally forced him into rebellion. The justiciaries, at the rumour of this assassination, were alarmed for their personal safety; and barred the gates of the house in which they lodged; that they might not be surpris'd, and likewise cut off, by the assassins. Bruce and his party, having attempted, in vain, to force the gates; then threatened to set the house on fire; and thus compelled the justiciaries to surrender themselves to their mercy. He contented himself with dismissing them, uninjured, out of the kingdom. He was now in open rebellion; and his only remaining hopes of safety, appeared to lye in the boldness and good fortune, with which he should prosecute the hostilities which he had thus commenced. His brothers, vassals, and some other adherents, gathered together, to encourage and support him. He proceeded to levy war against the English, with loftier pretensions and bold views, than any Scotsman had dared to profess, since the abdication of Balliol. Thus within the short space of *four months*, Edward saw all his hopes of the permanent

SECT. I.
CH. VI.

permanent subjection of the Scots, entirely frustrated; and was forced to renew the contest for the dominion of Scotland*.

CHAPTER VI.

Accession; and reign of ROBERT BRUCE, to the battle of Bannockburn.

Robert
Bruce
crowned
King of
Scotland
at Scone.

A. D.
1306.

IT was on the tenth day of February, in the year one thousand three hundred and six, that Bruce violated the peace of the Church, and of King Edward, by the assassination of Comyn, in a sacred place, at Dumfries. In the beginning of March, immediately subsequent, he had been joined by a considerable number of adherents; and having proceeded across the kingdom, to Perth; was ready to be solemnly invested by his followers, with the insignia of royalty, at the neighbouring Abbey of Scone; the usual scene of the coronation of the Scottish Kings. Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrew's, Wisheart Bishop of Glasgow, and the Abbot of Scone; Edward, Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander, the four brothers of Bruce; Thomas Randolph, Christopher Seaton; Malcolm Earl of Lennox, John

* Fordun. XII. 6, 7:—Hemingsford I. 220:—Pinker-ton's Edition of Barbour, I. P. 33, 34, 35, &c.

John Earl of Athole; James Douglas, Gilbert, ^{SECT. I.} and Hugh de la Haye, David Barclay, Alexander ^{CH. VI.} Frazer, Walter de Sommerville, David de Inchmartin, Robert Boyd, and Robert Fleming; were the principal of those adherents whose consent, vows of fealty, and applausive acclamations here encouraged Robert Bruce to risk the perils of seating himself on the Scottish throne. Macduff, Earl of Fife; who, by inheritance from his ancestor, the contemporary of Malcolm Canmore, enjoyed the right of placing the Crown, for the first time, upon the head of any successor to the sovereignty of Scotland; remaining, at this time, faithful to Edward; would not assist at the inauguration of Bruce. His sister Isabella, however, wife to the Earl of Buchan, took it upon her, to perform the office that pertained to her brother; and, on Sunday, the twenty-ninth of March, set the Crown on Bruce's head, in the Abbey-Church of Scone, and in the presence of almost all those adherents who had then joined him*.

MEANWHILE, Edward, with astonishment and ^{Resent-} rage, received tidings, at Winchester, of the assas- ^{ment, and} ^{new mea-} ^{sures of} ^{Edward.} ^{fination of Comyn, and the consequent revolt of}

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Bruce.

* Barbour I. 40:—Fordun. XII. 9:—Trivet. 342:—
Math. Westm. 454:—Hect. Boeth. Lib. XIV. Folia 311:—
J. Major. Lib. IV. C. 19. Folio 79:—Lesh. Lib. VII. P.
229:—Buchanan. Lib. VIII. R. 258.

SECT. I.
CH. VI.



Bruce. He was now advanced in years, and infirm of body ; but, his mind still retained its wonted energy. To the Pope, he instantly sent messengers, to inform his Holiness of the sacrilegious murder, which the new pretender to the Scottish sovereignty, had committed ; and to demand a bull of excommunication against Bruce and his associates ; which was readily obtained. With the same ardent promptitude, he appointed Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, to the government of Scotland ; and sent him forward, with what force he could easily muster, to oppose the insurgents, ere they should gain any formidable accession of strength. To propitiate the aid of heaven ; and having his mind perhaps affected with unusual emotions of piety, amidst the present infirmities of his age, and the vexations of his ambition ; he solemnly vowed, that, after executing just vengeance upon the sacrilege and rebellion of Robert Bruce, he would again embark for the Holy Land ; and there end his days, in fighting against the infidels ; upon whom his youthful prowess had been gloriously tried. His son, Prince Edward, seeming to catch his father's ardour, vowed, likewise, that he would not rest, for two nights together in the same place, till he should have reached Scotland. The Prince, with his attendants, then followed the Earl of Pembroke. The King himself, having summoned his military vassals to meet him in arms, at Carlisle,

life, proceeded, by slow journies, to that town; in SECT. I.
CH. VI. so weak a state of health, that, notwithstanding the impatient activity of his mind, he could not travel otherwise, than in a litter. Being severely afflicted by a dysentery, he was unable to advance farther, on his expedition; but, halted near Carlisle, and passed the subsequent winter in that neighbourhood*.

THE Earl of Pembroke had, however, reached Battle of
Methven-
wood. Perth, before Bruce could muster any force with which he might make head successfully against the English. At Pembroke's approach, the Scots, not daring to undergo a siege in Perth, retired to Methven-wood, adjacent. From this post, they soon sallied forth, to annoy the enemy; and in the spirit of chivalry, and with that headlong ardour for which the nation had ever been distinguished; challenged Pembroke to draw out his forces, and meet them in the open field. The English were not slow to answer this challenge. In the evening of the very day on which it was offered, they marched out; and being met, near the town, by Bruce with his followers; an obstinate combat ensued. While Bruce fought, rather with the bold, inconsiderate valour of a private soldier, than with the

* Federa II. 988. 989:—Trivet. 342, 343:—Hemingford I. 2211

SECT. I.
CH. VI.



the caution of a King and a Leader ; he was unhorsed, and twice in danger of being taken prisoner by English Knights ; but was still rescued by his own brave attendants. Yet, the Scots were only an handful of men, before the English host. They were, at length, almost all cut in pieces, or made prisoners ; Bruce, with some few followers, with difficulty, escaping to the wilds of Athole. Edward receiving the news of this success of his Lieutenant, as he arrived at Carlisle ; was somewhat consoled under his bodily distress ; and was the more easily persuaded to rest, for some time, there, in the hope of recovering strength*.

Bruce passes the summer upon the Grampian hills.

BRUCE and his few remaining friends, wandered, for some time, among the Grampian hills, without daring to descend into the vicinity of any of those posts or fortresses which they believed to be occupied by the English and their adherents. The chase of the deer and other wild beasts, and the taking of the fishes of the lakes and rivers, afforded them such provisions, as they had been chiefly accustomed to subsist upon. Here they might possibly have continued to sojourn, till intelligence of the slackened vigilance of the English, or of the increasing favour of their own countrymen,

* Barbour V. I. P. 44, 45, 46 :—Fordun. XII. 11 :—
Trivet. 343 :—Matth. Westm. 455.

men, should have invited them forth, with new ^{SECT. I.} promises of better fortune. But, the approach of ^{CH. VI.} winter; the inclemencies of which, could not well be endured, without shelter; and the desire of rejoining the more helpless part of their families; obliged them to repair, occasionally, towards Aberdeen, while they were still beset and pursued by the English. Nor were the English, the only foes they had to fear, in these regions. Stewart of Lorn, husband to the aunt of the assassinated Comyn; impatient to revenge his nephew's murder; and being, for this, the more zealously faithful to Edward; eagerly mustered his vassals, and pursued the royal fugitive, while he wandered, almost forlorn, among the heights of Braidalbane. The men of Lorn came upon Bruce and his slender company, in Strathfillan; and there, on a heathy plain; still known by the name of Dalry, a desperate combat ensued; in which the King and his companions were worsted; those of them who survived the fight, and especially Bruce himself, escaping with extreme difficulty. After wandering about, on the Grampian hills, and between Braidalbane and Aberdeen, as long as they could there find safety or subsistence; Bruce and his companions were, at last obliged to separate, and disperse themselves into different places. Their wives, who had, for some time, accompanied them in their erratic life, were conducted, by Nigel Bruce, to the castle of Kildrummy,

SECT. I.
CH. VI.

Kildrummy, in the district of Marre; which had been left, at the late pacification, in the custody of Bruce, and had not been, hitherto, retaken by the English. The King himself determined to pass over into the North of Ireland; where he might perhaps obtain aid, against the ensuing summer; and might, at least, be secure, in the mean time, from the pursuit of his enemies*.

He passes
to the isle
of Rach-
rin, on the
Irish coast.

WITH two hundred men who still remained with him, he travelled westward. They directed their journey, first into Lennox; having hopes of some assistance or protection, from the Earl of this district, who had, not long before, assisted at Bruce's coronation. Crossing some part of the lake of Lochlomond, they were kindly received and entertained by Earl Malcolm, in one of its islets. The King, with a certain number of his attendants, were, by Lennox's care, soon after, provided with a vessel, and enabled to sail, from the mouth of the Clyde, for the castle of the Lord of the Isles, in Cantyre. By Angus Macdonald, Lord of the Isles; a stranger to the power of Edward, and probably the enemy of Stewart of Lorn; Bruce was hospitably received. Resting with this chieftain, in his castle of Dunaverty, only for three days, till he could again

* Barbour V. I. P. 63, &c. Book III. throughout:—
Fordun. XII. 11.

again put to sea ; the Scottish King then continu-^{SECT. I.}
ed his voyage ; and, being either involuntarily ^{CH. VI.}
driven on, by uncertain winds ; or afraid of endan-
gering his safety, if he should land in any of the
southern Hebrides ; sailed to the islet of Rachrin,
contiguous to the north-east coast of Ireland*.

RACHRIN, being but a petty islet, not more than ^{Bruce re-}
ten square miles in extent, could not furnish any ^{turns to}
considerable number of Allies, to recruit the fee- ^{Carrick.}
ble force by which Bruce was accompanied. It
could not even supply subsistence to him and his
companions, for any great length of time. But, ^{A. D.}
from Rachrin, he found means to dispatch his bro- ^{1307.}
thers, Thomas and Alexander, to the main-land of
Ireland ; that they might solicit the Irish septs, to
take arms, and come in aid of their brethren, the
Scots, against the English the common enemies of
both nations. Nor did the King himself tarry
here, longer, than till these seas were so much
calmed, upon the approach of Spring, as to afford
him, a safe passage to the isle of Arran, adjacent
to the Scottish main-land. From Arran, he dis-
patched a trusty messenger into Carrick and Gal-
loway, in order, if possible, to rouse the people on
his estates in those countries, to take arms against
the English, in support of him, who was now, as
well

* Barbour, B. III. *sub fin.*

SECT. I.
CH. VI.

well their Sovereign, as their immediate Lord. This messenger found the English in possession of the castle of Turnbury; and none of Bruce's vassals of Carrick, near, to receive and assist their master. Bruce, meanwhile, and those who remained with him, kept anxious watch upon the heights of Arran; straining their eye-balls by efforts to discern, whether those fires yet blazed on the nearest hills of Carrick; which the messenger, Cuthbert, had been commanded to kindle, as signals of his success; if haply, he should not prove unsuccessful in his errand. At length, they perceived flames blazing on the hill above Turnbury; and taking their boats in haste; rowed eagerly to the shore of Carrick. When they approached this shore, Cuthbert, who stood waiting for them, on the beach; informed them, in great trepidation; that no friends were near, to meet them; that the English were in Turnbury; that, the fire which they had supposed a signal of invitation from him, had been kindled by the enemy, for some different purpose. But, Bruce and his small band were now, close upon the English, who knew not of their coming; and this, in the darkness of night, and in local circumstances which were better known to Bruce, than to the enemy. They attacked some loose parties of English soldiers, which were not protected within the walls of the castle, but lay scattered in its neighbourhood; slew them all, except

SECT. I.
CH. VI.

almost all parts of the kingdom, in which Bruce or any of his confederates, could be suspected to lurk. The Archbishop of St Andrew's, was saved from Edward's vengeance, only by the most abject submission, and desertion of his party, and by the sanctity of his ecclesiastical character. Wilheart, Bishop of Glasgow, attempting to maintain the castle of Coupar in Fife, against the English, and in the name of Bruce, was there taken in arms; and was carried away, a captive, into confinement, in the castle of Nottingham, in England. Kildrummy-Castle, the only place of strength, remaining in the hands of the Brucian party, was, about the same time, besieged by an English army, under the command of the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford. Aware, that it could not long withstand the assaults of the besiegers; the wife and daughter of Bruce, made their escape out of the castle; and directed their trembling flight to the sanctuary of Saint Duthac, at Tain, in Ross-shire. Even the sanctuary could not afford to them, that protection which others found in it; for the Earl of Ross, in violation of its usual privileges, delivered them up to the English. Nigel Bruce, the brother of the King, and the rest of the garrison in Kildrummy, having sent away the ladies, as they fancied, to a place of security, determined to hold out against the besiegers, to the last extremity. Their gallant resolutions were frustrated by the treachery of a wretch

wretch named Osburne, who secretly set fire to <sup>SECT. I.
CH. VI.</sup> their magazine of weapons and provisions. Deprived thus of arms and subsistence, they, by necessity, surrendered to the enemy, at discretion. Whatever might be the fate of the meaner captives, Nigel, the brother of Robert Bruce, could not hope for Edward's mercy. He was solemnly tried at Berwick, condemned to die as a traitor, hanged, and his head then severed from his lifeless body. Christopher Seaton, who having obtained in marriage, a sister of the Bruces, and having joined them at Dumfries, had been taken prisoner at Methven-wood; met the same miserable death. The brave Simon Frazer was, with equal cruelty, and for the same pretended crime, executed at London; and the head of this warrior was exposed on a lance, near to that of the illustrious Wallace. The Earl of Athole, falling into the hands of the English, while he was vainly attempting to escape by sea; and not a few brave Scots, of smaller note; perished also, as if by their efforts in behalf of their country, they had deserved the fate of traitors. Others were, with difficulty, pardoned; but purchased their pardon by the dereliction of their principles, and of the cause of their country; and by placing themselves so wholly within the toils of the English, that it became impossible for them to return immediately to the party of Bruce, whatever the attachment which they might

SECT. I.
CH. VI.



might still retain for him. The Countess of Buchan, who had first set the Crown on the head of Bruce, was likewise made prisoner. Edward refrained from putting her to death; although enraged to unappeasable fury, by the transaction at which she had so conspicuously assisted; but, to make her captivity peculiarly distressful, ordered a narrow closet like the cage of a wild beast, to be framed for her stricter confinement, within an apartment in one of the turrets of the castle of Berwick, in which she was imprisoned. The wife and daughter of Bruce, were sent, in captivity, into England; but appear to have been less harshly treated, than the Countess of Buchan*.

Courage,
fortitude,
and wisdom of
Bruce.

THIS ruin of his party, these cruelties exercised upon his family and his adherents; were the subjects of the first news with which Bruce's anxious enquiries, were answered; after his return, in the Spring of the year, one thousand three hundred and seven, from roaming among the Hebridian isles, to the main-land of Scotland. Grief, indignation, and despair wound up all the energies of his soul, to an higher pitch, than they could have been raised to, simply by the impulse of patriotism or ambition. He was no longer that giddy youth, who

* Barbour, Book IV :—Fordun. XII. 11 :—M. Westm. 455 :—Trivet. 345 :—Leland II. 543, &c.

who had changed from party to party, with an in-
 confiderate levity, bespeaking almost a total desti-
 tution, equally of integrity and of wisdom. His
 hopes, his losses, his perils, all conspired to mould
 his character to unshrinking, and greatly daring
 heroism.

SECT. I.
 CH. VI.
 A. D.
 1307.

His brothers, Thomas and Alexander, at length,
 arrived from Ireland, with a friendly host of seven
 hundred warriors; who came to combat, with
 their kindred Scots, against the usurping English.
 But, Macdowal, descended by a spurious, or per-
 haps by a legitimate lineage, from the ancient, in-
 dependent lords of Galloway; at this time, the
 most considerable chieftain in these parts; and
 hostile to Bruce, as having hopes of thriving upon
 his ruin; hastily armed his vassals, and met the
 Irish auxiliaries, as they landed in the bay of Loch-
 ryan. These strangers, being imperfectly armed, and
 making their way irregularly, and with difficulty, to
 the shore; were hence unable to present any ef-
 fectual opposition to the onset of the Galwegians.
 They were routed with great slaughter; the two
 Bruces, and several others of their leaders, were
 made prisoners; and those few of the survivors,
 who escaped, were scattered over the country, in
 miserable, uncertain flight. The captives were
 conveyed by Macdowal, in triumph, to King Ed-
 ward, at Carlisle; and were, there, by his com-
 mand,

Over-
 throw of
 the Irish
 Allies:
 And death
 of Thomas
 and Alex-
 ander, the
 brothers
 of Robert
 Bruce.

SECT. I. mand, immediately put to death. Thus was Bruce
CH. VI. cruelly disappointed of the Irish succours*.

INCREASE OF
BRUCE'S
PARTY IN
CARRICK. YET, he did not long, idly lurk among the
wilds of Carrick. His vassals, of this district,
being warned of his arrival, resorted, in small parties,
to join him. Such of the Irish as had escaped the
pursuit of Macdowall, came in to Bruce and his
company, as soon as they were able to discover the
place of his retreat. James Douglas, one of the
most gallant and faithful of all those who followed
the fortunes of Bruce, repairing secretly to Douglas-
dale, there surprised the English in the castle of
Douglas; put the garrison to the sword; and, after
plundering and burning the castle; returned to his
King, on the confine between Ayrshire and Galloway,
with a supply of provisions and other necessaries,
and with the accession of a number of new partizans.
Bruce, thus gathering additional strength, amidst his
misfortunes, began to extend his excursions, each
day farther, through the surrounding country. Every
straggling party of the English, was liable to be cut
off by him. All the English garrisons in these parts,
were exceedingly annoyed by his bold enterprizes. It
seemed, that, if not speedily checked, he might
soon

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* Fordun. XII. 11:—Trivet. 346:—M. Westm. 457.

soon be able to reduce all the western counties of Scotland, into submission under his authority*.

SECT. I.
CH. VI.

EDWARD himself lay sick at Carlisle; and was still unable to proceed farther on an expedition in which all his predominant passions were ardently interested. But, his Lieutenant no sooner learned that Bruce had made his appearance in the West, and was rapidly overturning the power of the English in those parts; than he marched with a considerable force against him. The King, aware of the approach of the English army, posted himself advantageously on Lowdon-hill, to receive them, as they should advance, through Ayrshire, towards his places of recess, on the confines of Galloway. Almost all the inhabitants of Cunningham and Kyle, as well as of Carrick; the three districts of Ayrshire; were now devoted to his service. Nor does it appear, that the castle of Turnbury, remained, at this time, in the possession of the English. Several skirmishing rencounters took place between detachments from the English army, and smaller parties of the followers of Bruce; before the two armies could meet in one, great, decisive battle. Whether Bruce, at last, foregoing the advantage of his position upon Lowdon-hill, descended to fight the English upon equal ground; or whether

* Barbour, B. V.

SECT. I.
CH. VI.

whether the English army attacked the Scots within their intrenchments; it is certain that the valour of the Scots, prevailed; and Pembroke's forces were defeated. A second engagement ensued, within three days after the former; and again, a body of English troops, commanded by Ralph de Monthermer, were routed by the brave adherents of Bruce. The discomfited English found refuge in the castle of Ayr; yet were, even here, besieged by the Scottish King; and might probably have fallen into his hands; had not the approach of powerful relief to them, from England, obliged him hastily to raise the siege. Amid the desolation which the mutual hostilities of the Scots and English, spread through the three conterminous counties of Ayr, Lanerk, and Renfrew, the English, about this time, burnt the monastery of Paisley*.

Death of
Edward
the First of
England.

EDWARD the First of England, lived only to hear of these last disasters of his troops; not to revenge them. He had lingered through the winter, at Carlisle, in uncertain health; disease sapping his powers of life; yet, his spirit still manfully bearing him up, against its attacks; and pressing forward to the final accomplishment of the grand purpose of his ambition. The capture and punishment

* Barbour, B. VIII :—Trivet. 346 :—M. Westm :—Fordun. XII. 14.

punishment of some of Bruce's most distinguished associates, had yielded a gratification to his angry and perturbed breast, from which he seemed, for a time, to regain new health and vigour. The return of spring, and the fierce impatience of his mind, made him flatter himself with the persuasion, that he had, at length, recovered from a distemper under which, he was soon to fall. In gratitude to heaven for his fancied recovery, he offered up the horse-litter in which he had been lately borne, as a pious deodand, to remain in the cathedral of Carlisle. He then mounted his war-horse, and attempted to proceed to Scotland. But, at the end of four days, he had travelled only six miles. On the seventh day of July, in the year one thousand three hundred and seven, he expired at Burgh on Sand; within sight of Scotland; which, after all his efforts to subject it to the English Crown; was still unsubdued; and was soon to be wholly emancipated from the English yoke. Even amid the pains, and the devotions of his last hours, still breathing the same spirit of warfare and ambition which had animated him through life; he, with his dying words, enjoined his attendants to bear his corpse, into Scotland before the army, and to preserve it unburied, till the Scots should be wholly subdued*.

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THE

* Trivet. 547, &c.

SECT. I.
CH. IV.

Character
of Ed-
ward.

THE character of, Edward shall not be passed over, without eulogy, even in the history of a people whom he long laboured to enslave. His figure was stately, robust, and graceful. Amidst the troubles of his father's reign, he was formed, in early youth, to valour, fortitude, and political wisdom. No European Knight acquired higher glory, in the Holy Land, than Edward; at a time, when the crusades, and the wars for recovering that sacred territory from the infidels; were the grand school, or rather theatre of heroism and chivalry; on which all the most illustrious warriors of the West, contended, first, to distinguish their youthful names, by martial honours, or even to crown the glories of long and heroic lives, by deeds exceeding their former fame. Returning to Britain, he succeeded to the English Throne, with the general favour of his subjects; but, in a season the difficulties of which required the abilities of a hero, and of a sage, to be united in him who was, here, to wield the sceptre. To his turbulent and ambitious nobles, he skilfully yielded, what, it seemed probable that, in a contest, they might be able to wrest from him; yet, granted nothing which he could, by any means, preserve to the authority of the Crown; and let slip no fair occasion of resuming what he had reluctantly bestowed, and of weakening the power, and humbling the arrogance of that nobility, as far as he might,

without

without depriving himself or future sovereigns of <sup>SECT. I.
CH. VI.</sup> their useful support. By the final conquest of Wales, and its union to England, he did much towards the augmentation of the military strength of the English nation, and towards the establishment of that security and tranquility which are the parents of refinement and civilization. Nor did his grand designs, or the occasional perplexities of his affairs, in Britain, hinder him from defending his possessions in France, and maintaining the wonted influence of his family, upon the politics and wars of the continent. Who will affirm, that it was a wild, martial ambition ; and not rather a desire to promote, by peace and union, the general felicity and glory of the British nations ; that prompted him to pursue the conquest of Scottish liberty, by so long a train of complex and artful policy, and by such a variety of military enterprizes ? It is not strange, that, in Edward, as with many other illustrious men, wise policy should, at times, have degenerated into cunning and fraudulent artifice. *He* is not justly to be called *cruel*, who so easily pardons what he accounts rebellion, and who sheds the blood of war in peace, so sparingly, as did Edward. If the execution of Wallace were excruciating and cruel ; something must be allowed to have been due to the sorrow and revenge of those whose parents, brothers, children, had perished by his arms ; something is perhaps to be pardoned

to

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CH. VI.

to the impotent rage of a rival, unable to find any other resource against the opposition of a more exalted personal character, than that of crushing it to destruction ; it is to be remembered, that cool, political wisdom, when it happens to find benignity and mercy incompatible with its purposes, is ever more relentlessly cruel, than anger or ferocity. When he delivered over to the executioner, the brothers and other adherents of Bruce ; his passions were exasperated by the pertinacious insurrections, and by the unconquerable, irreconcilable opposition of the Scots ; and his temper was soured by the many vexations and disappointments of life, and by the pains and infirmities of drooping, expiring age. Not that any peculiarity of character or circumstances, can justify violence, cruelty, or fraud. But, the character of man is always to be estimated by the standard of humanity ; and due allowance is ever to be made for the necessary influence of diversity of circumstances, upon the sentiments and conduct of different men. Thus candidly viewed, Edward the First of England, will probably appear, to have exhibited, in his character, as much virtue, in union with as much valour, and as much prudence, as have distinguished almost any warrior or statesman, of any age, or nation.

WHILE

WHILE the death of their King, and other con-
comitant events, for a time, palsied, or frustrated
the enterprizes of the English; Bruce slighted no
opportunity that offered, to enable him, to win
new partizans, to espouse his cause; and to con-
quer back a larger, and still a larger extent of the
Scottish territories, out-of the hands of his enemies.
Young Edward, indeed, after assuming the ensigns
of royalty, made a shew of obeying his father's
dying injunctions, and of prosecuting the conquest
of Scotland. In a gay and idle progress, rather
than in a military expedition; he advanced with
his army, through Annandale and Nithsdale; the
inhabitants of which, were, as yet, obedient to his
dominion; to Cumnock, on the confines of Ayr-
shire; the only county in which Bruce's royal au-
thority was, at this time, duly acknowledged. But,
Bruce and his partizans were not ignorant, that
young Edward was impatient to return into Eng-
land; to enjoy the pageantries of a coronation,
and to indulge in the vain pleasures, and licentious
excesses, into which he might now plunge, without
restraint. They wisely avoided encountering his
powerful army, before which they would have
been, but an handful. Retiring to their secret re-
cesses, into which Edward was little disposed to
pursue them; they left him to be easily persuaded,
by the flattering suggestions of his courtiers, that,
since no hostile host appeared, to oppose his pro-
gress

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CH. VI.

Retreat of
Edward II.
out of
Scotland.

SECT. I.
CH. VI.

gress, there remained therefore none in Scotland, whose rebellion could materially disturb his government. Edward was pleased to find a plausible pretext for terminating his expedition. He confirmed the Earl of Pembroke in the Lieutenancy of Scotland, which he had, before, administered; impowered him to receive to grace, all the Scottish insurgents, except those who had been accomplices in the murder of Comyn; and then, in great haste, departed towards England. Yet, as he retired, he, upon some capricious motive, suddenly dismissed Pembroke from the Lieutenancy of Scotland; and nominated John de Bretagne, to succeed him*.

Consequences of the death of Edward First, and of his son's retreat.

No sooner were the news of the death of Edward the First, of the first measures of his son's reign, of the fruitless expedition, and abrupt retreat of the English; generally known throughout Scotland; than a mighty change was wrought upon the sentiments of all men, in respect to the independence, or final submission of the Scots. Bruce, and those who had hitherto fought and suffered with him, were now encouraged to entertain the most sanguine hopes; not only of impunity for their pretended treason against the English government; but of successfully vindicating the liberties of their country; and of aggrandizing

* Fœdera III. 1. 7. 10, &c.

ing their own fortunes and honours. Many, who, SECT I.
CH. IV. although secretly friends to their purposes and efforts, had been deterred, by the formidable name of the first Edward, from declaring openly in *their* favour; now hastened to join them, and to claim the merit of contending in the same cause. Not a few of those light, fickle characters; who, in civil broils, incessantly veer,—they scarcely know why,—from party to party; deserted, at the same time, with capricious eagerness to the side of Bruce. The loyalty and zeal of those who continued faithful to the English government, began, insensibly, to languish. All men began, in imagination, to anticipate, with fear or hope, the firm establishment of Bruce, upon the Scottish throne,

ALREADY master of all Ayrshire, except the castle of Ayr; and by the exertions of Douglas, of no inconsiderable portion of the shires of Lanerk and Renfrew: Bruce now undertook an enterprize out of Carrick, into Galloway; to avenge, Bruce makes an inroad into Galloway. upon Macdowall, the defeat and slaughter of his Irish Allies; and, if possible, to win the allegiance of the people of that country. The Galwegians refused, for the greater part, to join his standard; yet could not oppose any adequate force, to check his inroads into their territory. A great part of Galloway was the inheritance of Comyn whom he had slain, or of Macdowall, his inveterate enemy.

It

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CH. IV.



Bruce
ravages
Galloway;
but is forced to retire, before subduing it.

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It lay contiguous, also, to the western border of England, and many of its present inhabitants were of English descent. Hence the obstinacy with which they resisted the solicitations of Bruce, and persevered in that allegiance which they had vowed to the English King. Nor is it improbable, that some of them might still cherish a respect for the rival rights and interests of Balliol, who had once possessed extensive estates in Lower Galloway. Bruce, with his followers, over-ran their country; burning down their houses; massacring, without distinction, every sex and age; carrying away their flocks and herds; and spoiling all their other goods. Some of the Galwegian strongholds, on the sea-coast, or in the interior country, were set on fire, or taken by assault. Others, being more inaccessible, or better defended, withstood their hasty, irregular efforts. But, before Bruce could accomplish the final conquest of Galloway, the approach of an English army, which he had not a sufficient force, to oppose, obliged him to retire precipitately into Carrick*.

New plans
and enterprises
of Bruce and his followers.

UNABLE to make farther progress, at this time, in establishing his authority in the south-west counties; Bruce was now induced to think of expeditions into some other parts of the kingdom. A sufficient

* Barbour, B. VII. Vol. I:—Fœdera III. 14, &c.

sufficient force was left in the shires of Ayr, ^{SECT. I.} Renfrew, and Lanerk, to maintain, at least, ^{CH. VI.} those advantages which the Brucians had already gained, if not to make any new impresson upon the English, in these districts. While James Douglas went, from Douglas-dale, into the forest of Selkirk, which then comprehended a very ample range of territory; and while the future invasion of Galloway, was assigned to Edward Bruce; the King himself was encouraged to pass into the north-west Highlands; the inhabitants of which were now very generally inclined to espouse his cause. The increased favour of the nation towards Robert Bruce, sufficiently justified this distribution of the force of his party; and seemed to promise the happiest consequences from the separate exertions of their three most distinguished leaders*.

IN the western and northern Highlands, Bruce met with little opposition. Into these parts of Scotland, the English had scarcely ever penetrated; or at least, they had not there stationed any garrisons sufficiently strong, to overawe the native inhabitants. The castles, also, were too few, and too imperfectly fortified, to maintain an authority over the people of the open country, which they were averse from acknowledging.

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* Barbour, Vol. II. B. VIII. &c.

SECT. I.
CH. VI.

A. D.
1308.

With an army greatly augmented by those who daily joined his standard, in the course of his present expedition; Bruce pursued his prosperous career, eastward to Marre, and the country about Aberdeen. Here he found the Earl of Buchan, the present Chief of the family of the Comyns, ready, with a considerable force of Scottish and English troops, to give him battle. The King, although then languid, and sick of a feverish or rheumatic illness, was even more forward, than Comyn, to try the fortune of an engagement. The bold activity of his mind seemed to triumph over the weakness of his body, and to dispel the disease with which he had been, for some time afflicted. At the first onset, the troops of Buchan, were defeated and dispersed. Bruce, with his army, fiercely pursued; slaughtered many of the enemy, in their scattered flight; urged the pursuit through the country of Buchan; and, wasting this district with fire and sword; spared none of its inhabitants, alive, save only those who swore fealty to King Robert, and agreed to serve in arms, against his enemies. Buchan was the possession of his bitterest and most hated foes; and he appears to have ravaged it to a degree of desolation, exceeding what is ordinarily produced by the fury of war. After these successes, fear, hope, and admiration

miration brought many eminent partizans to enlist under his banner*.

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CH. VI.

THUS flushed with victory; and strengthened by continual re-inforcements; these brave Scots impetuously prosecuted their career of conquest. They had turned their faces southward; and were impatient to reach the frith of Forth, without leaving an enemy in arms behind them. An English garrison still held, for Edward, the castle of Forfar. Forrester, a brave knight in Bruce's army, taking advantage of the carelessness with which they kept watch, scaled the wall, by night, undiscovered; and, although accompanied but by a few chosen comrades; easily prevailed over, and slaughtered, the garrison. Bruce, after dismantling this castle, which had been thus gallantly won for him, continued his march to the banks of the Tay; and attempted, but not yet successfully, to take Perth, by a sudden assault. Want of military engines, and other instruments of war; as well as the return of winter; rendered Bruce unable either to press the siege, at this time, with sufficient vigour, or to turn it into a close blockade†.

Capture of
the castle
of Forfar,
and siege
of Perth.

A. D.
1308.

IN

* Fordun. L. XII. C. 13. 17 :—Barbour, B. IX :—J. Major, L. IV. Folio, 80.

† Fordun. XII. 17 :—Barbour, B. IX :—H. Boeth. Lib. XIV. Folio, 312.

SECT. I.
CH. VI.

Enterprizes of James Douglas.

IN the mean time, James Douglas had annoyed the English, in the south, with valour, wisdom, and success, not unworthy of the fortunes and exertions of his Sovereign, in the north. His first enterprize had been undertaken against the castle of Lanerk; one of the most important places of strength which the English held in that district. By a stratagem, he drew a great part of the garrison, with their commander, out of the castle; to a place where he and his followers, rising out of ambush; fell upon *them* unthinking of danger, and imperfectly armed; and slew them, almost to a man. The few survivors of the garrison, gladly yielded up the castle, upon a capitulation, by which they were dismissed, uninjured, to the nearest post belonging to their countrymen. Thus master of Lanerk-Castle, Douglas, by continual excursions, soon acquired, for King Robert, the mountains of Clydesdale and Tweeddale, with the forest of Selkirk; and even spread the terrour of his name, through the forest of Jedburgh, and to the very border of England. Amid his exertions, in these parts, against the English and those Scots who still adhered to the English interest; he luckily surprized, in a lonely cottage, at some distance from the site of the town of Peebles, three illustrious Scots, then attached to Edward; and made two of them, Thomas Randolph, and Alexander Stewart, prisoners; while Adam Gordon, the third
of

of the party, escaped. Randolph, the nephew of the King, had assisted at his coronation ; but, having since fallen into the hands of the English, had made his peace with them; by abjuring his uncle's cause. Being now sent by Douglas, to the King, he was for a time, imprisoned ; but was, within no long space, reconciled to Bruce ; and became, as we shall hereafter see, second to none of the Scottish nobles, for heroism and fidelity, as the champion of his King and country*.

SECT. I.
CH. VI.

A. D.
1302

THIS series of successes, in every different part of the kingdom, in which there had been any enterprize tried, in behalf of King Robert ; excited his brother Edward Bruce, to make a new attempt upon Galloway. This country ; naturally almost inaccessible, on account of its rocky hills, wild heaths, deep vales, rivers, lakes, morasses, and impervious forests ; was also fortified ; both on the coast ; and amidst the lakes, and on the banks of the rivers, in its interior parts ; with many towers and strongholds ; which had escaped destruction in the inroads by which it was lately ravaged, or had been since renewed. The Galwegian force consisted partly of Macdowall, with his friends, native inhabitants of the country ; in part, of English troops, sent to their assistance, under the command.

Edward
Bruce con-
quers Gal-
loway.

A. D.
1303.

* Barbour, Book IX.

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CH. VI.

mand of John de St John, and Ingram Umfraville. As Edward Bruce advanced into Galloway; probably from *Balloch* Castle, seated on an islet in *Loch-Doon*, at the confine between Carrick and Galloway; he was encountered, ere he had penetrated far; by the men of Galloway, at the passage across the river Dee, about six miles, above the place of its junction with the Ken. There, on an open heath, at a place still named *Craignell*, a desperate fight ensued, in which, however, the Bruccians were easily victorious. Pursuing, with their usual impetuosity, the fleeing enemy, they overran the country almost to Buittle-Castle; to which they durst not yet lay siege. But, the sea-coast of Galloway, was still in the possession of the English, or of Scottish vassals, willingly obedient to them: And the alarm excited by this sudden re-appearance of a Brucian force, and by the terrible fury and success of their invasion; prompted those who commanded, here, for the English King, to draw all their troops together; and to risk the event of a battle, which might effectually determine, what sovereign, the inhabitants of this district, were henceforth to obey. Edward Bruce, continuing his excursions from the fastnesses which he had won, in the interior country, was met by the whole English and Galwegian force, on a plain, near *Caer-Uchtrid*, on the banks of the river Cree. Taking advantage of a foggy morning; while the

two armies were within a small distance of each other, but had not yet joined in battle; Edward, <sup>SECT. I.
CH. VI.</sup> with fifty horsemen, came, suddenly and unperceived, upon the enemy; and, ere they could recover from the confusion, into which they were thrown by this surprize, or discern the number of those who attacked them; he drove them into panic flight; leaving to his infantry, no care, but to join in the pursuit and slaughter of the unresisting fugitives. Many were slain in the pursuit; and among others, Macdowall; whose opposition had hitherto been more formidable to the Bruicians, than that of any other Galwegian chieftain. Neither the English, nor the native Galwegians could longer dispute with Edward Bruce, the possession of the open country. His stratagems were too numerous and artful, to be foreseen or frustrated; his activity was unwearied; the fury of his valour, was dauntless and irresistible. He pursued his enemies into all their fastnesses and fortresses; and, in a short time, had won every castle and strong-hold; and had made all persons swear allegiance to King Robert, from the Irish Channel to the banks of the Nith; and from the Solway-Frith, to the borders of Nithsdale and Carrick.*

OTHER

* Barbour, B. IX;—Fordun. XII. 18:—Boeth. Lib. XIV. Folio, 312.

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CH. VI.



OTHER cares had occupied the attention of the young King of England, and of his favourites and courtiers ; while the conquests of his father, were thus rapidly rescued from under his dominion. He had probably believed the force lately left under the command of de Bretagne ; with the troops dispersed in garrison, in the different strong-holds throughout Scotland ; and with the assistance of those Scots who still acknowledged the English government ; to be fully sufficient for suppressing any remains of rebellion, that might still subsist in this country, and for preventing any future insurrection. Amidst the first news he received, of the growing distractions, he was induced to release Lamberton, Archbishop of St Andrew's, out of the confinement in which *he* had been, for some time, held ; and to dismiss him, under sureties, into Scotland ; that his good offices might there reconcile the insurgents, once more, to their duty. But, Lamberton, whatever pretences or engagements, he might think it necessary and honest, to make, in order to regain his liberty ; was, in his heart, a zealous friend to the cause of Scottish independence ; and there was no agreement effected by his intermediation. The appointment and dismissal of a succession of governors, in a very short space of time, betrayed the anxiety and irresolution of Edward's counsels concerning Scotland ; but brought no effectual aid, to enable his servants, in this

Trace and
negotia-
tions.

this kingdom, to check the successful career of the Brucians. Philip, King of France, was, in the mean time, induced, by the gallantry and prosperous fortune of Bruce, and by the evident weakness and folly of young Edward's government, to interpose his friendly services for the purpose of procuring, at least a truce, for some time, between the two contending nations. One truce, thus negotiated, another, and afterwards a third, protracted, for some years longer, the final overthrow of the English power in Scotland*.

SECT. I.
CH. VI.

A. D.
1309.

1310.

WHILE the English *affected* to despise, and only prepared to oppose, the partizans and successes of Bruce; this wise and brave Prince still applied himself, indefatigably, to establish and extend his power. Except only the Stewarts and their vassals, inhabitants of Lorn; almost all that division of the Scottish kingdom, lying north from the Frith of Tay, on the one side, and from *Loch-Fine* on the other, acknowledged now no sovereign but Bruce. To the south, and the south-west, Galloway, Ayrshire, Clydesdale, and Tweeddale, had been almost wholly conquered for him. Finding himself unable to take by assault, a town, so strongly fortified as Perth, so powerfully garrisoned,

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* Rymeri Fœdera III. 82. 94. 98. 160, 161. 127: 147, &c.

SECT. I.
CH. VI.



Conquest
of Lorne.

A. D.
1301.

so abundantly supplied with provisions and military stores, and so advantageously situate for receiving relief by sea; he determined, however, to march to the north-west; to chastise the men of Lorn, for the defeat he had suffered from them at Dalry; and to compel them to forswear their allegiance to the English King. The Lord of Lorne, aware of the approach of Bruce, with a force sufficient for the conquest of his country, seized the pass by the side of *Cruathan-ben*, between *Loch-Awe* and *Loch-Etive*, in order to preclude his nearer access. It seemed that, these passes might be defended by an handful of men, against a great army; nor would it be easy for Bruce to enter Lorn, on any other quarter. Against Bruce and his forces, however, Stewart's precautions proved vain. Of this invading army, the greater part were light-armed; having only bows, quivers, and short daggers; and being unincumbered with any weight of defensive armour. These, Bruce, dividing into two bands; sent one company round the hill, that they might come, unexpected, behind the men of Lorn, who guarded the pass; while he made the other ascend the steep declivity of the hill, immediately above the streight in which Stewart's people stood ready, in arms. With his spearmen and cavalry, he himself then charged the enemy, on their front. Beset, in this manner, before, behind, and on the *flank*, the men of

of Lorn were so far from being able to repulse the Brucians from the pass, that they were, themselves, ^{SECT. I. CH. VI.} cut in pieces, in it, without making any considerable resistance. Bruce next advanced to Dunstaffnage, the principal castle belonging to the Lord of Lorne; took this castle, and spoiled the country; compelling all the surviving inhabitants to swear allegiance to him; while Stewart, the chieftain, with difficulty, made his escape by sea, and fled to England*.

EDWARD, although already contemned and hated by his English subjects, on account of his weak attachment to an unworthy favourite, and his incapacity for discharging the functions of government; found leisure, at length, to turn his attention upon the affairs of Scotland; and summoned his military vassals, to attend him, on an expedition into this country. In the end of the month of September, in the year one thousand three hundred and ten, he arrived, with a powerful army, at Roxburgh on the confine between the two kingdoms. For whatever reason; he conducted this army onwards, by a route, which could not be easily passable; through the forest of Selkirk; in which such enemies as the Scots, might have

^{A fruitless expedition of the English into Scotland.}

* Fordun. XII. 18.—Barbour, B. X:—Boeth. Lib. XIV, Fo. 312.

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CH. VI.

A. D.
1310.

have assailed them with great advantage. He advanced, in this direction to Biggar, and thence to Renfrew. But, Bruce and the Scots wisely avoided encountering the English in the open field; there was a severe famine in Scotland; the provisions which the English had brought with them, were quickly consumed; the inclemencies of the climate and the season, were greatly discouraging; the time was but short, for which the military vassals composing Edward's army, could be legally compelled to serve in the present enterprize; nor were they so submissive to his authority, or so much inclined to confide in the counsels and generalship of their King and his favourites; as voluntarily to prosecute, under *them*, such an expedition, when they had fair pretexts for desisting from it. Edward was, accordingly, obliged to turn his march backwards from Renfrew, without having accomplished any thing memorable, against Bruce and *his* subjects. He returned by the way of Linlithgow, and through Lothian, to Berwick; and there lingered in inactivity, till the middle of July, in the following year*.

THE English King, after this retreat, retained hardly any possessions in Scotland; but a few of the

* Fordun. XII. 18:—Fœdera III. 223. 235. 230. 274.
283.

the strongest castles ; which Bruce was still unable ^{SECT. I.} to make himself master of. Famine had indeed ^{CH. VI.} reduced the Scots to the necessity of feeding upon the flesh of their horses and dogs. But, they obtained some occasional relief from the sea-port towns of Flanders ; and from England,—such was the general hatred for Piers Gaveston, the King's favourite, and the contempt for Edward himself !—there appears to have been, as well aid in necessaries, as useful intelligence, occasionally conveyed to Bruce. In the beginning of winter, the Scots, impatient ^{Farther transac-} of any rest from hostilities, till their country should ^{tions of} be wholly free ; projected an expedition against ^{the Scots.} the Isle of Man ; but, as it should seem, were diverted from the prosecution of this enterprize. Many of the inhabitants of the Isle of Man, were already sufficiently hostile to Edward, and friendly to Bruce. It was by their intervention, and in ^{A. D.} their vessels, that provisions and military stores ^{1310-11.} were conveyed to the Scots, in Galloway, from the western coasts of England*.

Of the castles not yet recovered from the Eng- ^{Linlith-} lish, that of Linlithgow was a very important one. ^{gow-Caf-} It was held for Edward, by a sufficient garrison. ^{the taken.} In the season of hay-harvest, in the year one thousand three hundred and eleven, this garrison were to

* Fœdera III. 233. 238.

SECT. I.
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A. D.
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to receive a supply of hay, for their horses, from the neighbouring fields; and a peasant, named William Bunnock, from whom it was purchased, was to convey it, in carts, into the castle. But, Bunnock secretly detested the English; and was ardently attached to the cause of Bruce. In concert with his neighbours and friends, he procured a party of armed men, to lie in ambush near, while he should drive a load of hay, to the castle-gates. Within a cart, seemingly loaded with hay alone, he concealed eight of his comrades. His servant led the horses; he himself following behind. The castle-gates were opened, without suspicion, to admit the horses, and the carriage, with the persons who conducted them. No sooner were the gates open, and the cart dragged between them; than Bunnock's servant, as his master had previously directed him, cut the ropes by which the horses were yoked; and twined them out, loose from the carriage. The eight armed men, concealed under the hay, then sprang up, with a loud shout; which was the signal agreed upon, to call in, those who lay, in ambush, near. The carriage blocked up the gates, so that they could not be shut. Bunnock, with all his associates, rushed boldly in; easily mastered the garrison, at this time, unusually weak, in consequence of having, unsuspectingly sent out detachments through the country; and held the cattle secure from being recovered by the

the English; till he delivered it up to Bruce, his King*.

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ABOUT the same time, Edward, having, in vain, summoned his Barons to assemble at Roxburgh, in order to attend him, on another expedition into Scotland; was obliged to return home, without having been able to muster any sufficient force; and left his garrisons in Scotland, to defend themselves, how they might. Bruce, soon after, carried the war into England, by a sudden inroad through the Bishoprick of Durham. The hope of plunder was, not less than a thirst for revenge, a motive to this expedition, thus undertaken at a time when continued wars, for so long a series of years, had wasted Scotland, almost to utter desolation. He ravaged the whole Bishoprick with fire and sword; sparing no sex, age, or condition; and after destroying almost every thing that could not be brought away; returned home, with a large and rich booty, to the relief of his starving subjects. Nor can it appear wonderful, that, in an age so fierce and barbarous; and between two nations exasperated against one another, to the most inveterate and unrelenting hostility; there should have been mutually inflicted, cruelties more atrocious, than in occasional war

Inroad of
the Scots
into Dur-
ham.

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1311.

* Barbour, B. X.

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war between civilized nations; in a more polished and enlightened period*.

THE Scottish King, upon his return home from his expedition into England, again turned himself; to the conquest of his castles, and the expulsion of the English garrisons. Perth, one of the strongest, fortified places, in Scotland; had been powerfully garrisoned by the English, immediately before the battle of Methven. Although repeatedly assailed by the Brucians, since their first successes in the north; it had still withstood all their efforts; unassisted as these were, by the military engines then in use for battering or scaling the walls; and for discharging stones and other missile weapons, at sieges. In the end, then, of this year of his first expedition into England, Bruce again invested the town of Perth with the most powerful force that he could muster. For a considerable time, he pressed the siege with the utmost vigour; but, still ineffectually; because he wanted the necessary engines; and because the garrison, and the rest of the people within the town, were too vigilant to be surprized by stratagem. Again, he was, reluctantly obliged to withdraw his troops, and to retire; lest famine, and the diseases occasioned by long encampment, on low, marshy ground, in
an

* Fordun. XII. 18 :—Fœdera III. 284.

an inclement season; should cut off the flower of ^{SECT. I.} those brave and faithful followers, by whose aid ^{CH. VI.} he had now nearly re-conquered Scotland. But, no supplies came from England, to relieve or reinforce the garrison of Perth. Bruce would not desist from his purpose, or suffer this single walled town, for ever to baffle his efforts. Providing himself with scaling-ladders and such other instruments as he could find, he speedily renewed the siege; at a time when those within the town, were pleasing themselves with the persuasion; that they were inclosed within impregnable walls, and had no future siege to fear. He chose a dark ^{Perth taken.} night; and in its silence, taking a chosen band, conducted them, himself in person; partly wading, partly swimming; across a ditch, deep, broad, and full of water, that surrounded the walls. The rest were animated, on this, as on many other occasions, by the example of the daring valour with which the King exposed himself, the foremost, to danger. The contest among them, was, who should first cross the ditch, and by the scaling-ladders which they carried with them, mount the walls? This gallant and perilous enterprize succeeded. The King himself was the second to enter the town. The garrison and the townsmen were easily overpowered. In the castle, and in the stores of the merchants, a considerable booty was found, of those things which the captors want-

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ed the most, for the relief of their own necessities. The slaughter of the vanquished, was humanely stayed, as soon as their resistance ceased. The houses were burnt, and the walls and fortifications, levelled with the ground. By this happy achievement, all Perthshire and Stratherne, were freed from servitude to the English, and reduced under the authority of King Robert*.

Designs
and nego-
tiations of
Edward.

EDWARD of England, in the mean time, being still at variance with his barons, and scorned by them, could employ no effectual means, to check the progress of Bruce's conquests. It seemed unavoidable, that all the castles which were still held for the English, must fall, one after another, into the hands of the Scots. Edward, ashamed to yield up what had been dearly earned by his father's toils and victories; yet unable to preserve it; wavered between the conclusion of a peace with the Scots,—and the renewal of the war, with such vigour, as to sweep them at once from their land, by the invasion of a mighty and over-running army. Bruce was no longer a puny rebel, wandering on the mountains, or skulking among the woods, with a few associates of fortunes desperate like his own: He was now the acknowledged Sovereign

* Fordun. XII. 18;—Barbour, B. IX:—Boeth. L. XIV. Folio, 312.

vereign of almost the whole Scottish nation, and master of almost all Scotland. By truces, Edward endeavoured, at least to protract the period of the final overthrow of his authority in this kingdom; but, a truce proposed from either of the two Kings, was regarded by the other with suspicion and distrust; nor was either nation willing to observe a truce, longer, than till the first fair occasion of renewing hostilities with peculiar advantage. While Bruce pushed his conquests; Edward frequently encouraged his principal Scottish adherents, by compensating the losses they suffered in Scotland, with grants of lands for their support, in England. Bruce, despising the feeble government of Edward, renewed his incursions into the northern provinces of England, with the same success, and the same terrible devastation, as before. Edward came northwards, to oppose him; but, wanting an army, and being in fear of his own barons; could undertake no enterprize for that purpose*.

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A. D.
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1312.

THE siege of the English garrisons remaining in Scotland, was again more vigorously renewed. The castles of Dumfries, and Dalwinton, on the confines between Galloway and Nithsdale, were now, at last surrendered to Edward Bruce. Douglas went against the castle of Roxburgh; and by a stratagem,

Rox-
burgh-
Castle taken by
Douglas.

* Fordun. XII. 19:—Fœdera III. 313.

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stratagem, took it. The commander of the garrison, was Guillemin de Fiennes, a brave Burgundian Knight. Douglas, awaiting the evening of Shrove-Tuesday; when the wonted vigilance of those within the castle, would probably be drowned in festivity and riot; prepared ladders of ropes, for scaling the walls; and selected a trusty band, to accompany him, on the enterprize which he meditated. On the destined evening, he and his companions, putting on frocks, to hide their armour, repaired to the vicinity of the castle. The watchmen perceiving them, from the battlements, in the darkness of the night, mistook their appearance for that of some countryman's oxen. They advanced, without being detected, close up to the castle-walls. Simon of Leadhouse, who had framed the ladders of ropes, as soon as these were fixed by hooks, was the first who, ascending the walls, made trial of their strength and sufficiency. Douglas; and the rest of the band, followed. Leadhouse, ere they could join him, had slain the watchmen, without suffering them to alarm those within. Douglas and his party, then rushing forwards, surprized almost the whole garrison, rioting in the great hall. The larger part were instantly slain, with furious carnage. A few, however, escaping with Fiennes, their commander, into one of the towers; made, from it, an obstinate defence, for nearly two days; till, at length, Fiennes receiving
a mor-

a mortal wound in the face; the rest were entirely ^{SECT I.} discouraged; and surrendered to Douglas. The ^{CH. IV.} captives were dismissed, in safety, into England. The castle was, by the command of Bruce, soon after demolished*.

ABOUT the same time, Randolph, now recon-^{Edin-}
ciled to his uncle and King, was vigorously pref-^{burgh-}
fing the siege of the castle of Edinburgh. Piers ^{Castle ta-}
Lombert, a Gascon Knight, with a strong garrison, ^{ken by}
plentifully furnished with arms and provisions; ^{Randolph}
held this castle for King Edward. Lombert's fi-
delity, however, falling by some means, under the
suspicion of the garrison; they put him in confine-
ment, by their own authority; and appointed ano-
ther, from among themselves, to command in the
castle. Randolph, in vain, continued the siege: ^{A. D.}
He wanted engines, to make an impression on the ^{1312.}
massy walls, or the towering rock: There was no
hope of quickly starving the garrison to submis-
sion: the garrison were sheltered in the buildings
of the castle,—while the besiegers were exposed
under the open sky, to all the inclemencies of the
season and climate: The garrison were defended by
their walls and battlements, from the arrows and
other missile weapons of the besiegers,—but these
had

* Barbour, B. X:—Fordun. XII. 19:—Boeth. Folio, 313

† *Alias* Leland.

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had no such defence to protect them, when they were annoyed by the darts and arrows of the besieged. At last, William French, a soldier in the Scottish army; proposed to conduct a party up the rock, in the night, by a narrow and winding path; to where they might easily scale, a lower part of the exterior wall; and might thus master the garrison, by surprize. French had, in his youth, served as a soldier in the castle; and had been then accustomed, often to visit, by night, a young woman whom he loved, in the town; secretly going and returning by the path which he now discovered to Randolph. His proposition was readily listened to. Randolph, with thirty men; having French for their guide; set out, at midnight, to climb the rock, surmount the castle-wall, and surprize the garrison. They proceeded, with extreme danger and difficulty, but without any unfortunate accident, till they had nearly reached the foot of the wall. They there found a small recess in the rock, in which, while they rested for a few moments, they saw the watchmen pass, on their rounds, above, but remained, themselves, unseen. No sooner had the watchmen passed, and left all on that side, quiet, than Randolph and his followers fixed their ladders of ropes, and scaled the walls; French still going foremost; Andrew Gray, following next; and Randolph himself being the third, to ascend. Only a very few had gained the height

height of the wall ; when the garrison were alarm-^{SECT. I.}
 ed, and assembled, to oppose them. The combat ^{CH. VI.} was fierce and desperate ; and although all the men of Randolph's party, soon ascended, to support him ; yet, had not the commander of the castle been slain, while the event of the fight, was still doubtful ;, it seemed not improbable, that Randolph and his comrades might have all perished, amidst the host of foes, among whom they had, too daringly, ventured themselves. But, by the fall of their commander, the garrison were thrown wholly into confusion ; and their resistance soon ceased. Uncertain concerning the numbers of the Scots, that had entered the castle ; they fled in a panic terrour, as if the whole Scottish army had been upon them. Some escaped out at the gates ; some threw themselves down from the walls ; others sought concealment in the cellars and secret recesses belonging to the castle ; the greater part were slain. Lombert, the deposed governor, was found in the dungeon ; from which being immediately liberated ; he entered eagerly into the service of the Scottish King ; thus justifying those suspicions which had prompted the garrison to depose and imprison him. Bruce ordered this castle, also, to be demolished ; and his authority was soon after, established throughout all the circumjacent country*.

THESE

* Barbour, B. X :—Fordun. XII. 19.

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Expedi-
tion to the
isle of
Man.

THESE were not the only castles, that, about this time, were conquered out of the hands of the English. Edward Bruce, after his successes in Galloway and Nithsdale, had proceeded into Renfrewshire, and had there assaulted and taken the castle of Rutherglen; which had been, before, ineffectually besieged. From Rutherglen, this gallant warrior went, soon after, northwards, and laid siege to Dundee. The King himself in the mean time, being now master of the south-west districts of Scotland, led an army out of Annandale into Cumberland; and ravaged that country; while its inhabitants in vain demanded succours from their Sovereign, at this time overwhelmed and distracted with other cares. Turning from his expedition against the Cumbrians; and taking such vessels as he could find on these western coasts; Robert Bruce next passed over into the isle of Man; into which a number of his Galwegian enemies had made their escape; besieged and took Castle-Ruffin; and once more brought this isle into—at least a temporary subjection to the Scottish crown. A chieftain named Macdowall; probably from Galloway; with a number of his followers, were slain by Bruce, in the rencounter which determined the fate of the isle of Man*.

WHILE

* Fordun, XII. 19:—Chronicon Manniæ, sub anno 1313.

WHILE the King of the Scots in person, conducted his affairs with success, in the west ; and his brother Edward, on the eastern coast, earnestly urged the siege of Dundee ; the English King beheld, with anxious concern, the ruin of his power, and the distress of his remaining adherents in Scotland. Those few persons, on the Scottish border, who still acknowledged themselves, the subjects of King Edward ; dispatched, about this time, Patrick Gospatrick, Earl of March, and Adam Gordon, of Gordon in Berwickshire ; to represent their distresses to their sovereign, and to claim from him, immediate protection, and aid. His concessions and misfortunes had now begun to pacify the discontented, and to arouse the loyalty of his English subjects ; and he was enabled to soothe and encourage the deputies from Scotland, with warm promises of speedy and powerful assistance. The news with which they returned, was eagerly received and credited by those who still held out against King Robert. From the siege and capture of Dundee, Edward Bruce had returned across the Forth, and had besieged the castle of Stirling. When he had for some time prosecuted the siege of this important place ; and the besiegers and the besieged had mutually annoyed one another, with nearly equal success ; a truce was proposed between them, by Mowbray, governor of the castle ; on this condition, that, if the garrison should not obtain relief

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Siege of
Stirling-
Castle;
and Truce.

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from

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from England, before the end of June, in the ensuing year, they would then surrender the castle to the Scots. Edward Bruce rashly agreed to this truce; without knowing the weakness and wants of the garrison; or the confident hopes, which they had, by this time, been taught to entertain; that the English would, early in the next spring, again invade Scotland, with a force sufficient to reconquer it, in that single campaign. It was with no small dissatisfaction, that the King saw the fate of the only place of strength which his enemies now held at any considerable distance within the confines of his kingdom, thus protracted for another year. But, he would not violate the engagements which his brother had entered into: He would not forfeit the character of a true knight, and a generous opponent, by preferring interest to stipulated faith: And he eagerly set himself to make such preparations as should defeat any invasion that the English might, next year, attempt; and might thus disappoint the garrison in Stirling-Castle, of all relief*.

In this interval of truce, the Scots had leisure to review with wonder and self-congratulation, the long struggle with which they had contended for their national independency; and that career of success, in which their efforts had, now for some time, proceeded.

BEFORE

* Fœdera III. 458, 482:—Fordun. XII. 20:—Barbour, &c

BEFORE the unfortunate death of Alexander the Third, the government of the Scottish kingdom had been established in such strength and order; that, had it not been for the occasion offered by the sudden failure of the direct male line of its monarchs; even the ambitious Edward the First would have hardly dared attempt to add Scotland, by conquest, to the dominions of the English Crown. The disunion of the Scottish nobles; the ambitious rivalry of the competitors for the regal succession; the indifference with which a feudal chief naturally regarded the fate of the country or nation to which he belonged, as long as the rights and properties of his own fief were not infringed or impaired; the mean and narrow genius of John Balliol; and the extraordinary talents of Edward; had all combined to reduce the kingdom of Scotland, in the hands of Balliol, to the humiliating condition of a dependent fief. Mutual jealousy between a Lord Paramount that dreaded the greatness of his vassal; and a vassal who, by abject submission, had made himself contemptible in his own eyes, and in the eyes of all around him; had soon and naturally embroiled Balliol with Edward; and gratified the ambition of the latter, by driving the former, in disgrace and terror, from his tottering throne. After the deposition of Balliol, it appeared probable, that Edward might henceforth reign, the undisturbed sovereign of the Scots. But, there was

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Review of
the rise
and progress of
the war.

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a mutual repulsion between the characters of the Scots and the English, which soon drove the former into rebellion; and raised up a champion to defend their liberties; when all their nobles, and all the competitors for their Crown, had ungenerously deserted this glorious cause. The jealous cabals, and thwarting opposition of the Scottish nobles; the powerful, military and political abilities of Edward; the want of arms and discipline, to aid the impetuous valour of the Scottish soldiers; had at length blasted all the hopes with which the nation had been, for a while, encouraged to view the patriotic heroism of Wallace. At last, the spirit of Scottish independency, seemed to be, for ever broken and subdued. Scarcely any thing but frenzy, or despair could have prompted Bruce to rise up in opposition to Edward, at the time, and in the circumstances in which he had accepted the Crown from the hands of a petty band of adherents. The fortune of Edward for a while seemed still to prevail, even against the personal talents, and the advantages of rank, and right, which Bruce possessed. But, the death of Edward the First, and the weakness of his successor; more than the brave persevering efforts of Bruce and his associates; had at length, nearly put an end to the usurped dominion of England over the Scots. Such had been the progress, and the varying fortune of the struggle

struggle for Scottish Liberty, which was still pro-
longed.

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IN the latter period especially, of this contention; ^{Conduct} the most eminent among the Scottish Clergy, had ^{of the} acted a part, zealous and persevering, in behalf of ^{Clergy,} the national independency, which was scarcely to ^{during the} have been expected from the members of an opu- ^{contest} lent and selfish order, who, by the sanctity of their character, might, with safety, have remained neutral. Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, had favoured Wallace; and had even himself taken arms in support of Bruce. Lamberton, Archbishop of St Andrew's, was so zealously attached to the cause of Bruce, that no misfortune however calamitous, no engagement however solemn, could prevent him from returning continually into that confederacy which had been contracted between him and Bruce, some time before the slaughter of Comyn. Private attachments and connexions, or a liberal spirit of patriotism, might have had some share in giving this impulse, and this direction to the efforts of these ecclesiastics. But, they had a much more powerful motive in the interests of their own order, and of the national church. The Clergy of England, had pretended to a supremacy over those of Scotland, ever since the first subjection of the Scottish Church to the See of Rome. First the Archbishop of York; and afterwards the Archbishop of Canterbury;

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Canterbury; had upon various pretexts laboured to reduce all the Bishops of Scotland into the subjection of becoming their suffragans. With the same ambition, the monks and other regular Clergy of England, had acquired several dependent and subordinate establishments in Scotland; which were regarded by the Scottish Clergy, with excessive jealousy and discontent. There was a rivalry between the churches of the two nations, perhaps still more keen, rancorous, and suspicious, than that which prevailed between their two monarchies. With the independency of the civil government, that of the ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland, must, also, have fallen. The Scottish Bishops fancied, that they already saw the primacy of St Andrews, and the venerable, ancient honours of the See of Glasgow, humbled before the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. The monks, priors, and abbots dreaded, lest the revenues of their monasteries should be withdrawn, for the benefit of monks and monastic establishments belonging to England; and lest all hopes of future endowments from the pious generosity of rich laymen, should be, by the same means, cut off from *them*. And hence the unholy valour of Wisheart; the artifices and duplicity of Lamberton; those intrigues at the Court of Rome, which procured comminatory exhortations from the Pope, intended to make Edward the First relinquish his usurped authority

authority over Scotland ; and that artful and steady SECT. I.
CH. VI. resistance of the whole Scottish Clergy to the attempted subjugation of their country, which afterwards drew upon themselves, the threats of the Holy Father.

THE long wars between Scotland and England, Improvement of
the Scots
in the mi-
litary art. had formed the Scots, much more than in any previous period, to the skilful and disciplined practice of the military art ; as it was then exercised among the other nations of Europe ; and as it best suited the local nature of such a country as Scotland. Formerly, the Scots, however brave and prodigal of life, were fit only for marauding ravage, or for the momentary fury of a sudden onset. But, they had, within these last twelve or fifteen years, acquired the discipline, the stratagems, and the arms which were in use among the most eminently martial of their neighbours. They could defend a castle with the most obstinate patience and valour : They could urge a siege by regular approaches and assaults : In stratagems and the arts of surprize, they were inconceivably subtle and daring : They now knew, how to post themselves advantageously, and to restrain that frantic temerity which formerly rendered them incapable to avail themselves of a favourable position for battle or encampment ; although they should even have, for a few moments, taken possession of it : On the field of battle, their
cavalry,

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cavalry, their spearmen, their flingers, their archers, could now arrange themselves in just order, and fight in concert, without dispersing themselves, singly, among the enemy. Not one, but many Wallaces seemed to have arisen among the Scottish nobles. The King himself, his brother Edward, Douglas, Randolph, Campbell, Stewart, and several others; were among the bravest soldiers, and the most skilful commanders in Christendom; and were all inspired with the same impassioned patriotism, which had prompted the heroic deeds of Wallace. Even the peasantry, and the meanest soldiers who followed the banners of Bruce, began to feel within themselves, from long success, a confident and exulting courage, which fancied one Scotsman to be equal in combat, to several Englishmen. Final success, now so nearly attained, seemed to promise, not only to Bruce, but to almost all his adherents, glory; opulence, liberty, dominion. Should they, at last fail; the English exasperated by the immense losses *they* had sustained, and by the long resistance which *they* had experienced; might be expected to destroy the Scots, without mercy; and to reduce their country, almost to the utter desolation of an uninhabited waste.

Thus, the recollection of the whole progress of the present contest for the national freedom; the

consideration, that the clergy consented almost in <sup>SECT. I.
CH. VI.</sup> one voice with the laity, because the independence or subjection of the church, was essentially involved in that of the state; the exultation of past success; the consciousness of being inferior to their enemies, neither in valour, in discipline, nor in their counsels; the necessity of final triumph, to avert total ruin; and the persuasion, that the eyes of mankind were turned upon the contest, with awful admiration of their fortitude and courage; all combined to encourage the Scots, to make, yet, one mighty effort, in order to defeat the invasion now threatened by the English; and for ever to drive these ambitious, oppressive neighbours from their usurped dominion over Scotland. Towards the north and west, all was quietly obedient to the authority of King Robert. There was no longer a necessity for dividing the force and the counsels of Bruce's followers, upon many separate enterprizes. The grand object of the national exertion, was, only to protect and extend the southern frontier; and to intercept all relief from the garrison in Stirling-Castle. The King summoned all who could bear arms, to assemble to his standard at Torwood, between Falkirk and Stirling. The whole nation were unanimous with the monarch of their choice: Vast preparations were made: And a mighty concourse repaired in arms to Torwood*.

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NOR

* Fordun. XII. 19, &c.

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Prepara-
tions of
the Eng-
lish for the
invasion.

NOR were the English King's promises of relief to the garrison at Stirling ; or his threats of a powerful invasion, which should once more subdue the rebel Scots ; only vain pretences, to be suffered to pass away, without any exertion, on his part, to accomplish them. Edward had at last been deprived for ever, of his favourite Piers Gaveston ; and a temporary reconciliation had, in consequence of this event, been effected between him and his Barons. His affairs in France, in Ireland, and in England, were, at length, with difficulty, reduced to such a state, as to permit him to undertake a new expedition into Scotland. The English nation were roused to a sense of the dishonour cast upon them, by the successes of a handful of Scottish rebels ; who had been slighted, as almost too contemptible to deserve serious opposition in the field. Arms and military stores were provided, in abundance. From all England, from Wales, from Ireland, even out of France ; all the military vassals of King Edward, with the quotas of armed men which they were, respectively, obliged to furnish ; repaired, at his summons, to join his standards ; as he advanced to Werk-Castle ; the place appointed for the general rendezvous and muster of the whole army intended for the invasion of Scotland. A fleet sailed along the eastern, and another on the western side of the island, to attend the movements, and aid the operations of the land-army ; and to supply it,


it, from time to time, with provisions. The whole <sup>SECT. I.
CH. VI.</sup> force of armed men that accompanied Edward upon this expedition, might amount to fifty or sixty thousand; beside a proportional number of servants, and of those other loose and disorderly followers who always attend the progress of a great army*.

MEANWHILE, the Scottish King, at Torwood, <sup>Numbers
and en-
campment
of the
Scots.</sup> found himself at the head of an inferior indeed, yet not an extremely unequal, force. His regular, full-armed troops were, in number, about thirty thousand men. About fifteen thousand, loose and light armed marauders hovered around his camp; and served to augment, at least the seeming, if not the actual strength of his army. The soldiers and the leaders confided mutually in one another; and were all animated with one spirit, which encouraged them to believe themselves invincible. Yet, they wisely determined not to advance towards the borders of the kingdom, to meet the enemy; but, to await *their* approach, in a situation, in which, they might *both* maintain a sufficient check upon the garrison in Stirling-Castle; and prevent the invaders from coming so near the castle, as to relieve the garrison, without first giving battle to the
Scottish

* *Fœdera* III. 463, 478. 481, 482 :—*Monachus Malms.* P. 146, 147.

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by this counsel, the choice of the place of combat; the Scottish leaders posted their forces in a field then known by the name of the *New Park*; the surface of which was partly low and marshy; in part, dry, stony, and rising with a gentle declivity. The small stream of Bannockburn, advancing from the north-west, pursued its winding course, towards the south-east, along the right side, and on the front of this scene of encampment. Its banks were so shaggy, abrupt, and precipitous, as to form a sort of natural entrenchment against the attack of the English cavalry; which the Scots chiefly dreaded. To add to these advantages of position, by a stratagem; Bruce directed narrow, but deep pits, to be dug; thick as the cells in a honey-comb; over all those parts of the plain, by which it was likely, that the English horsemen might advance, to assail the front or the flanks of his army; and then to be loosely covered over with turf, making the ground to seem as if still unbroken. On the highest part of the field; since distinguished by the name of *Brock's brae*; stood the royal tent; and a perforated stone, on that height, is still pointed out, by the neighbouring peasantry, as having been bored, and first placed there, to sustain the King's standard, at the battle of Bannockburn. Under his own immediate command, Bruce reserved the rear division of the army; the men of Argyle,

Argyle, of the Hebudæ, and of Carrick : To the ^{SECT. I.} experienced valour and prudence of Douglas, as- ^{CH. VI.}  fisted by young Walter Stewart, he confided the trust of conducting the main force, in the centre : Randolph, now Earl of Moray, led the left wing : At the head of the right wing, was the King's brother, the impetuous Edward Bruce. In this posture ; brave to exultation and fury, yet not dangerously rash, or undisciplined ; the Scots awaited, with impatience, the attack of that mighty army, with which the English monarch had now entered within their confines*.

THE English were now at hand. From Werk-Castle, they had quickly come onwards, to Berwick. After a short stay at Berwick, during which, new supplies of provisions and other stores were probably furnished to them from on board the fleet ; they eagerly renewed their march northward ; advancing, by the way of Dunbar and Haddington. They came, exulting in their strength and numbers ; rather as in triumphal procession, than as in a military enterprize of uncertain event. Joy, festivity, and riot prevailed through all the host ; and they brought with them, an *abundance* of all the necessaries for subsistence ; *which* had long been unknown in Scotland. The frivolous, and vain glorious

* Barbour, B. XI :—Fordun. XII. 20.

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day; took five hundred spearmen, from among the infantry, under his command; and instantly hastened after, at full speed. Taking a shorter way, than that by which Clifford led his party; Randolph had soon so nearly come up with those whom he pursued; that Clifford could not with safety proceed to Stirling; but was forced to turn, and attack his pursuers. Randolph overjoyed to see, that Clifford's company were thus, in some measure, baulked of their first purpose; hastily commanded his followers to form themselves into a circular troop; and to maintain their ground with firmness; protending, all around, their long spears, to resist the onset of the enemy. The English rushed upon the Scottish troop, at full speed, and with terrible impetuosity. At the first attack, Sir William Damecot, one of the bravest knights who accompanied Clifford, being parted from his companions, fell under the Scottish spears. His death did not discourage, but exasperate the English. They pressed upon the Scots with rising fury, and with redoubled vigour, till they at last broke through the outer line of that valiant troop, and began to cut them down with dreadful havock. Meanwhile, both armies, from their respective camps, beheld the combat; with mute, eager, trembling, impatient attention; anticipating, every man in his mind, the event of a general engagement, from the fortune of this skirmish; and ready, almost at

every stroke of death, which they saw dealt in the fight, to issue furious, forth, and to mingle in one general battle. The valour of Randolph and his comrades, seemed about to be overpowered by the weight, the force, and the superior numbers of Clifford's cavalry. The generous and ardent soul of Douglas, would not endure the fight. By the force of urgent, angry remonstrance with the King; who could, as yet, hardly forgive his nephew for that want of vigilance, by which he had suffered Clifford to draw him into this skirmish; Douglas, at last, obtained leave to hasten with a reinforcement of fresh troops, to succour and rescue Randolph, his friend, and brother in arms. But, Douglas had not yet reached the scene of the combat, when he saw, that the English, wearied out by the resistance they had met with, and alarmed at his approach; began already to slacken their efforts, and to retire before Randolph; while, on the other hand, Randolph's soldiers, animated by seeing their friends advance to support them, and perceiving, that they had, themselves, almost mastered their foes; appeared to press upon the yielding English, with such increasing vigour and activity, that the brave five hundred could not fail to rout the enemy, even without farther aid. "Stay!" then cried Douglas, with magnanimous disinterestedness, to his followers; "Stay! the English already flee; let us not lessen the glory of our

SECT. I.
CH. VI.

Defeated
by Ran-
dolph.

SECT. I.
CH. VI.

“ companions in arms, by undeservedly dividing
“ it with them :” So saying, he halted with his
company. Randolph and his fellow-combatants,
soon joined them, victorious. For, the English
army, however indignantly they might behold the
event of the skirmish, could not advance to support
Clifford, without attacking the whole force of the
Scots upon the advantageous ground which these
then occupied. And it was, for the present, better
to leave Clifford to his fate*.

YET, in the mean time, the main army of the
English, advanced, in order of battle, almost close
up to the Scots ; and endeavoured, by insults, and
every other means of provocation, to draw them
from their ground. The bravest warriors of ei-
ther army, rode about, with a sportful ostentation
of valour, on the open space, between the two op-
posite front ranks ; thus hurling mutually, a con-
temptuous defiance ; and challenging one another
to single, or to universal combat. Amid the ge-
neral suspense and expectation, there occurred a
new incident ; which, combining with the fortune
of the rencounter between the parties of Randolph
and Clifford ; had a remarkable tendency to kin-
dle new hope and courage in the souls of the Scots ;
and to inflame the breasts of the English with more
ardent

* Barbour, B. XI. XII :—Trivet. contin. P. 14.

ardent shame and indignation,—now not altogether unmixed with doubt and fear. While Bruce rode along the foremost line of the van division of his own army; encouraging his soldiers, giving out his orders to them, and inspecting, as he passed the force and the arrangements of the enemy; he was perceived, and was distinguished to be the Scottish Sovereign, by the English Knights, who rode about, in the same manner, in the front of their own lines. At sight of him, so near to them, and exposing his person so incautiously; Henry de Bohun, one of those Knights, issued hastily from among his companions; aspiring to achieve a deed which might cover his own name with immortal honour; and might perhaps put an end, at once, to the present war. The King perceived his hostile intent, and awaited his approach. They both raised their battle-axes to strike, as they came together. Bohun, making a mighty effort, hoped to fell Bruce at once to the ground; but, erring in his aim, did not even touch the armour of his royal adversary. Ere he could recover his erect posture on his horse; Bruce's battle-axe, wielded with terrible sureness, force, and velocity; cleaved, at a single stroke, the helmet and skull of the English Knight; and Bohun fell, lifeless, to the ground, in sight of both armies. Astonished at the wonderful dexterity and strength, which the Scottish King had displayed in this combat; those

English

SECT. I.
CH. VI.

Gallant
deed of the
Scottish
King.

SECT. I.
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English Knights, who had come up, at some small distance behind Bohun ; instead of advancing, to avenge his fall, retreated backward, within the *ranks* of their own army. The Scots, with a loud shout of joy and gratulation, received their King into the midst of his forces ; as he returned from performing this glorious deed. When his nobles gathered around him ; blaming, with friendly and loyal zeal, his too rash exposure of his own life, to danger ; he, without exultation or excuse, expressed, only, his concern ; that, in slaying Bohun, he should have broken his trusty battle-axe.—These events ; the defeat of Clifford, and the fall of Bohun ; happened on Sunday, the twenty-fourth day of June, in the year one thousand three hundred and fourteen.—It was now the *eve* of a day big with the fate of one of the most eventful battles, ever fought in Scotland*.

ALL night, the two armies rested under their arms. At the dawn of day, the English moved onwards to the attack. Among the Scots, mass was, in the mean time, solemnly celebrated by the Abbot of Inchaffray, on an eminence, within sight of the whole army, and on their behalf. Their King, conferred the honour of knighthood ; as was usual upon such occasions ; on Douglas, Stewart,

A. D.
1314.
June 24.

Battle of,
Bannock-
burn.

* Barbour, B. XII.

art, and some other young nobles ; then exhorted SECT. I.
CH. VI. all his host, to maintain their ground with firmness, till they should conquer, or gloriously perish ; reminded them of the unpardonable wrongs they had suffered, and of the ills which they had, in their turn, inflicted ; warmly suggested to their hopes and fears, that the secure independence, or lasting slavery of their country, depended on the fortune of this day's engagement. The foremost division of the English army, led on by the Earls of Hereford and Gloucester, advanced in one compact squadron, and began the battle, by attacking the right wing of the Scots, which was commanded by Edward Bruce. The rest of the English came up, under the immediate command of their King himself, to support and pursue the movements of the van. While the English were seen to begin the fight with the attack of the Scottish right wing ; Randolph eagerly led on his victorious troops of the left wing, to attack the English opposite to them. Douglas, and Walter Stewart, A. D.
1314. in the same manner, soon brought into action, the June 24. central columns that were under their command. And, the battle was thus joined, from one side of the field, to the other. The English warned by the defeat of Clifford's cavalry, on the preceding day, had brought their infantry, and particularly their

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CH. VI.

their archers, foremost, into this day's engagement*.


THE battle raged with dreadful fury. The combatants rushed together, with loud shouts; and to these succeeded the clangour of shields, the crash of breaking spears, the rattling of quivers, the twanging noise of bow-strings, the cries of the wounded, and the groans of the dying. The long shafts of the spears, were, for the greater part, quickly broken; and the spearmen, then penetrating, mutually, through the adverse lines, fought, hand to hand, with their smaller arms. But, the archers, and those armed with other missile weapons, who wore little defensive armour, and fought from a distance, made a much greater, reciprocal havock, than took place among the spearmen. The Scottish King, with that part of his army which was retained in reserve, beheld from a height in the back-ground of the field, the execution of those movements which he had concerted with his generals, and the fluctuating course of the battle. He soon observed, that the English bowmen, by their superior dexterity, and perhaps by the wider range of their bows, greatly overmatched the Scottish. With a coolness and promptitude of mind, not inferior to that daring courage which he

* Barbour, B. XII.

he had, at other times, displayed; he instantly dispatched Sir Robert Keith, with five hundred light <sup>SECT. I.
CH. VI.</sup> horsemen, upon the perilous service of riding into the thickest throng of the English archers; where they appeared the most sorely to annoy the Scottish; and of thus dispersing them, or hewing them in pieces, with the battle-axe. Keith and his company, taking a circuitous course, came upon those archers, at one side, before they were aware of his approach or intentions, and accomplished his enterprize with complete success. The fortune of the battle was thus restored to an equality, in the only part of the field, on which it had threatened to turn against the Scots; and they now appeared to fight, every where, with a fair prospect of victory. The conflict was, however, still obstinately prolonged, with desperate valour, and with great slaughter, on both sides. It might seem, here and there over the field, to languish; but this was only where the vigour of the combatants was wearied out by long exertion; not because their mutual rage was, in any degree, fatiated or overcome. Bruce thought it, at length, time, to conduct into the battle, those fresh troops, which he had hitherto kept in reserve. All the English forces were now, engaged, as far as the disadvantages of the ground would permit. But, the field was too narrow, to allow them, sufficiently to expand the wings on either side, or even to open and spread out their
central

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Ch. VI.

central column, with due effect: They were, in some places, crowded together, so as to be hindered from freely wielding their weapons: The banks of Bannockburn, and the deceitful pits prepared, by the Scots, either prevented the greater part of the English cavalry from advancing into the action, or entangled and disabled them, as they came rashly onwards. Already relaxing their efforts; the English began to give way, and to lose ground rapidly; when Bruce with the Scottish reserve, shewed themselves in the fore-front of the battle. The English leaders strove to rally their troops. But, while they made their last despondent exertions, the stragglers and loose, unembodied attendants, belonging to the Scottish army; in number, about fifteen thousand persons; who had been dismissed from the camp, before the battle; suddenly appeared upon the western heights; and seemed to be another great army approaching to re-inforce the Scots. This fight struck a general terrour into the hearts of all the English; which no efforts or encouragements of their leaders, could counteract. Aymer de Valence, perceiving, that the rout became universal, and that all was lost, hurried King Edward from the field. The carnage was now terrible; the Scots making a great slaughter among those who fled, without resistance; and many of the bravest of the English Knights, turning to rush upon certain death, rather than survive to share the igno-

miny of their vanquished King, and fellow-soldiers. <sup>SECT. I.
CH. VI.</sup>
The gallant Earl of Gloucester, honourably fell,  in a last attempt to rally the English soldiers around him. Sir Giles D'Argentine; one of the most renowned Knights of the Age; who had served with great glory, in the Holy Land, against the Saracens, and in other wars; having here attended the English King, till Edward was about to betake himself to flight; refused to flee with the Monarch; or to turn his back, now, for the first time, before his foes; but spurring his horse furiously on, and shouting, "an Argentine! an Argentine!" rushed with a desperate impetuosity among the enemy, where he saw them thickest; and was soon buried, with his horse, under their spears*.

THE feeble, unfortunate Edward led the flight; ^{Flight and} in the utmost trepidation; nor halted, till he was ^{pursuit.} received by Gospatrick, Earl of March, into the castle of Dunbar. Many of the fugitives were driven in the confusion of the flight and pursuit, to the banks of the Forth; where plunging headlong, they perished in its stream. Many sought protection, with the garrison in Stirling-Castle, or even threw themselves, in despair, on the open sides of the hill on which it stood, and on the plain skirt-ing its western edge, below. The Scots urged the

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Y

pursuit

* Barbour, B. XIII. &c.

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purfuit with unwearied activity, and infatiable rage. Douglas, with a troop of fixty horsemen, followed hard after the English King; and had soon so nearly overtaken him; that Edward might have been made prisoner; had not Douglas's slender company been too unequal in numbers, to attack the great force of cavalry, that fled with Edward. Yet, Douglas still continued the purfuit; harassed the English rear, and cut off those who, by reason of their wounds or fatigue, fell behind; till he had seen them enter, with trembling confusion, the gates of Dunbar. Edward, after a short time of refreshment and rest at Dunbar, hastened by sea, to Bamburgh, in Northumberland. The Earl of Hereford, with some followers, who had taken refuge, with him, in Bothwell-Castle, were soon after, made prisoners by Edward Bruce. Moubray, the governor of Stirling-Castle, was no sooner summoned, in the name of the victorious King of the Scots, to surrender the castle, than he yielded it, faithfully, in compliance with the conditions of his former capitulation. Those fugitives from the army, who had taken refuge round this castle, likewise yielded themselves, without resistance, to the mercy of their conquerors. Many, especially of the Welshmen who had followed the English banners, were miserably slain by the peasants who found them wandering about the country, naked, helpless, and not knowing whither to flee. The victors

victors eagerly spoiled the tents and corpses of their routed and fallen enemies. The armour, the horses, the provisions which they seized, and afterwards the sums of money with which their prisoners were ransomed, were almost sufficient to overpay the devastation of their country, and the long perils and afflictions which they had, themselves, undergone. Among other precious articles of booty, the English King's privy seal fell, with two of his secretaries to whose custody it had been committed, into the hands of the Scots. Baſton, the poet, whom Edward had brought with him, to celebrate his intended victories; being also made prisoner; earned for himself, kind usage, and liberty, by the composition of a poem, in praise of the heroism and glory of the conquerors. Several of the most illustrious prisoners, were, for different reasons, generously dismissed from their captivity, without ransom. After the rage of the battle had ceased, none were butchered in cold blood. Funeral honours were humanely granted to the bodies of the English Chiefs who had fallen on the field of battle. The bodies of the common soldiers were more hastily, and with less solemnity, interred by heaps together, in deep pits. The Earl of Hereford, and with him perhaps also some other noble prisoners, were after some time, exchanged for the wife, the sister, and the daughter of Bruce, the Bishop of Glasgow, and

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CH. IV.

and the young Earl of Marre. The number of the slain, as well on the side of the Scots, as on that of the English, appears to have been very great ; but, has not been precisely ascertained*.

SUCH was the event of an invasion which had seemed to threaten the inevitable, and irretrievable ruin of Scottish independence. Valour prevailed over numbers ; counsel, over rashness and premature exultation ; a petty king who was loved and admired by the heroes that obeyed him, triumphed over the monarch of a great people, who was hated and despised by his own subjects ; freedom spurned tyranny to the earth, and crushed his neck in the dust. The struggles of even the feeble Balliol ; the heroic efforts of Wallace ; the first enterprizes of Comyn ; the violence under which Comyn fell ; the coronation of Bruce ; the sufferings, the perils, the daring undertakings of Bruce and his adherents, for a period of eight years, during which the contention had, now, been by them prolonged ; were all finally justified, and sealed, as glorious, by the event of the battle of Bannockburn.

BUT, good fortune could no more beguile the Scots, at this time, into negligence and inactivity, than

* Barbeur, B. XIII :—Fordun. XII. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23,

than could disaster depress them to torpid despondency. Quickly after the victory of Bannockburn, a body of troops was dispatched, under the command of James Douglas and Edward Bruce, to make an incursion into England, and to retaliate upon the terrified English, in their own country, those mischiefs which they had inflicted upon Scotland. These troops traversed and ravaged Northumberland; exacted a large contribution from the inhabitants of the bishoprick of Durham; penetrated southward to Richmond in Yorkshire; burnt Appleby and some other towns in the western districts; and then, without having met disaster or opposition, returned homewards, with abundant spoils. To such a degree, had the fear of the Scots, fallen upon their lately haughty neighbours; that an hundred Englishmen would now flee before two or three Scots. Nay, many of the English, to save themselves, forgetting the ties of allegiance, and the attachments of patriotism; took part with the Scots; and were not ashamed to assist in spoiling their fellow-countrymen, and in laying waste their native land*.

EDWARD was now at York; and had summoned his parliament to concert new measures for the defence of the kingdom, in this season of alarm, misfortune,

* Barbour XIII :—Chron. Lanercost. apud Tyrrel :—Walsingham, 106.

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CH. VI.

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A. D.  
1314

Negotia-  
tions; and  
inroad in-  
to Eng-  
land.

fortune, and disgrace. Their counsels tended little to encourage or relieve him. He did what he could, for the protection of his northern provinces, by appointing the Earl of Pembroke to the Lieutenancy and Guardianship of the country between the Trent and the Tweed. Bruce, with a moderation of mind, truly worthy of his high character, disdained not, while crowned with victory, and borne on a swelling tide of unvarying success, to sue his humbled adversary, for a peace. First, a messenger, to obtain a passport; and then, four Commissioners empowered to negotiate; were sent from the Scottish King, to the English Court, at York. Negotiation was, as yet, premature. The mutual and inveterate resentments of the two nations, were still at their height; the English would not yet own themselves to be finally baffled and overthrown,—by conceding that which it was, however, no longer in their power to withhold; the Scots would be content with nothing less, than the entire evacuation of their territories and confines, together with the full and absolute recognition of the independence of their state, and of the royal authority of the King whom they had chosen. Enraged, that his proffers of peace, were slighted, Bruce, even in the beginning of winter, led his forces upon another inroad into England. Again, unresisting terror went before them; and ravage and havock, every where accompanied their destroying

troying course. They burnt the towns, maffacred <sup>SECT. I.</sup> the inhabitants, seized and drove away the cattle. <sup>CH. IV.</sup>


Cumberland propitiated their mercy by a temporary submission to the authority of their King, and by the payment of a very large contribution. The Scots then returned home ; and remained in unwilling inactivity, for the rest of the winter. They revisited England, in hostile array, early in the subsequent spring. They ravaged the open country, as before ; but were repulsed from the walls of Carlisle ; and failed in an attempt to surprize the garrison of Berwick\*.

BRUCE, almost ever since his accession to the throne, had been too much busied in recovering his kingdom from the English, to have leisure for regulating by new laws, the settlement and administration of its internal government. His gallant nobles, as the country was reconquered, had been re-instated in the possession of their ancient estates, or had been permitted to appropriate the forfeited lands of the English party. Randolph had obtained the earldom of Moray ; Douglas had acquired a wide extent of territory in Clydesdale and Selkirk-forest ; Campbell had been suffered to in-  
Internal state of property and distributive justice in Scotland.  
 croach upon the forfeited fiefs of the Stuarts of Lorne ; to his brother Edward, the King had ceded his

\* Fœdera III. 495. 497 :—Chron. Lanercost. apud Tyrrel.

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CH. IV.

his patrimonial earldom of Carrick. The castles ; having been all, wisely demolished or dismantled by Bruce, as they were successively taken ; because to the Scots, the natural strong-holds of the country, afforded a better protection, than any fortress ; and because that, without castles, the English could never retain possession of Scotland ;—did not now demand garrisons to occupy, or governors to command in, them. The violence, and the necessities of war, had, in a great measure, suspended the administration of distributive justice ; the Brucian, and the English parties acknowledging no mutual rights in one another ; and each party, even among themselves, not daring to enforce, with rigour, the rules of justice ; least discord and defection might thus be provoked. Agriculture had been unavoidably neglected. The flocks and herds had been almost exterminated. Even on the estates of the Church, industry had been almost wholly interrupted. No man could call any possession, his own ; for none knew, how soon he might be expelled by a more powerful claimant, or might be required to yield to a more ancient proprietor. In this unsettled state of property, industry, and order, it was requisite, that the King, with his clergy, nobles, and inferior vassals, should seize the first moments of grateful pause, that were allowed them, from the troubles and the toils of war ; and should endeavour to reap the fruits of their labours and sufferings,

sufferings, in the adjustment of their respective SECT. I.  
CH. V. claims, and the restoration of orderly government. 

A Parliament assembled at Ayr, on the twenty-Transac-  
tions in  
Parlia-  
ment. sixth day of April, in the year one thousand three hundred and fifteen. It was composed by a very numerous attendance of *all the vassals of the Crown*; who held, or claimed to hold, estates by ghostly, military, soccage, or burgage, tenure. Their first act, was a solemn recognition of the rights, and the authority of Robert Bruce, as King of Scotland; with a profession of constant, inviolable allegiance to him and his heirs. They next described those persons whom they considered as having a right to inherit the Scottish Crown from Robert Bruce; in the particular circumstances of his family; and agreeably to the known laws of feudal succession. Those were, *first*, his own male children,—if any such should be born to him; *failing these*, his brother Edward Bruce, and the heirs male of Edward; *next*, Marjory, the King's eldest daughter, and her heirs; but on condition, that she should marry,—if during her father's life, with his consent,—if after his death, with the consent of the Estates in Parliament. They provided, likewise; that, in the event of the death of their present beloved Monarch, while the next heir to his throne, were still a minor, unfit to govern; or if he should leave no heir, whose right to succeed

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him, might be recognized, at once, without doubt or controversy: In either of these cases, Randolph, Earl of Moray, should assume the Regency of the kingdom; till the heir to the throne, should attain the years of majority; or till the Estates should assemble to elect for themselves, a new King. To enforce these provisions, they then invoked the solemn sanction, and the authority of the Church; and professed, that they and their children were bound by her discipline; liable to be checked and humbled by her censures; and subject to be secluded by her execrations, if these should be provoked by their guilt, from all the comforts of religion;—from the communion of the saints, on earth, or in heaven. After these regulations had been enacted, to prevent; for as much as was possible by foresight; the recurrence of those evils, arising from a failure in the lineal succession to the throne; which had for so many years, wasted their country: the Parliament, in concert with their King, then turned their deliberations upon the measures necessary for the prosecution of the war with England, and for the settlement of the interior government. Proclamation was ordered to be made, that, all who had any claims to lands not in their actual possession, should produce those claims, before the proper officers, within a year and a day; otherwise, the lands could not be restored to them. The King gave his daughter Marjory

Marjory, in marriage to young Walter Stewart. SECT. I.  
CH. VII.  
A mighty enterprize was concerted, in order to give a fatal wound to the English power, where it was the most easily vulnerable; and to gain a kingdom for Edward Bruce, and new fiefs and principalities to his brave brothers in arms. Of this enterprize, IRELAND was the destined scene\*.

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## CHAPTER VII.

*Abstract of the History of IRELAND. Its invasion by the Scots: Their victories: Their disasters: The death of Edward Bruce: And the final disappointment of their enterprize.*

IRELAND; for which the flower of the Scottish forces, were now about to sail from Ayr; was, next after Britain, the fairest island in these seas. Like Britain, it was probably discovered and visited by the Phœnicians and the Greeks; those first commercial nations of the East; and by their colonies of Carthage, Spain, and Marseilles. Perhaps, ere its existence was known to these, or to any

\* Fordun. XII. 24, 25:—Barbour XIII, *sub fine*, and XIV.

SECT. I.  
CH. VII.

any other civilized people; it might receive its first human inhabitants, from Spain, from Britain, or even from Scandinavia; by means of some of those innumerable accidents in the fate of mankind, which appear to have gradually dispersed them over the earth, in the early ages of the world, without any grand designs, or extended foresight in themselves. When *Agricola* penetrated, at the head of the Roman legions, into the north-west of Scotland; he there gained such information concerning Ireland, that he was strongly tempted to invade it; and he might possibly have achieved also the conquest of that isle, had he not been, too abruptly recalled to Rome. The earliest observations and enquiries that were made concerning the relative circumstances of Scotland and Ireland, discovered the language, the customs, the arts, the manners, the government, and the religion of the Scots and the Irish, to be the same. Their constant, mutual intercourse, friendly or hostile, concurred, also, to suggest the conjecture, that they must be from one common origin; and the Scots of Irish, or the Irish of Scottish descent. Christianity had not been long believed and preached in Britain, when an Apostle, out of the south-west of Scotland, passed over into the contiguous isle, and, with mighty success, declared the tidings of the gospel to the Irish. *Patrick*, their Apostle, found them to be a  
rude

rude and simple people ; without letters, legisla-  
 tion, or ingenious arts ; thinly dispersed over their  
 territories ; the willing slaves of a rude and gross  
 superstition, by which their habits of barbarous  
 life, were confirmed and maintained ; subject to  
 Chiefs, who governed them without laws, but  
 were obeyed, only when their commands were  
 pleasing, or when they enforced their will, by sa-  
 vage acts of cruelty ; divided into innumerable,  
 petty tribes ; living in a state of eternal warfare,—  
 of inveterate and general hostility, almost every  
 where exasperated to exterminating fury. The  
 zeal, the genius, and the artifices of Patrick, soon  
 triumphed over the unskilful impostures of the  
*Druid* priesthood: He won the Druids, and the  
 bards, their brethren, disciples, and assistants ; to  
 espouse his doctrines, and to aid the propagation  
 of them. Christianity, as he taught it, was ac-  
 commodated to the ignorant prejudices, and the  
 rude manners of the people to whom it was  
 preached. It was ingrafted upon the pretences of  
 Druidism, and blended with the traditionary fables  
 of the bards. In this manner, obtaining quickly  
 an universal reception ; it seemed, for a while, to  
 mitigate the ferocity of the new converts, to ci-  
 vilize their barbarism, and to subdue them to the  
 observance of that sublime morality which it  
 taught. But, even while it withdrew to a life of  
 religious seclusion, in cells and convents, a greater

SECT. I.  
CH. VII.

SECT. I.  
A. VII.

number of men and women, than had been abstracted from profane society, by Druidism ; while the Irish sent out missionaries to convert their kindred neighbours of the Hebridian isles : The primitive savageness, and barbarism of the people, even then prevailed over the genius and spirit of their religion ; so that Christianity did not so much exalt and refine the character of the native inhabitants of Ireland, as suffer, itself, a debasement and corruption, in the manner in which they understood and believed its doctrines, and practised the rites of its worship. The *Anglo-Saxon* conquerors of Britain, extended not their ravages or colonization to Ireland. A casual expedition by Egbert of Northumberland, against the Irish, spread, for a time, devastation and carnage over some part of their north-east coast ; but accomplished no permanent effects upon their government or manners. An occasional intercourse was still carried on ; and colonists alternately went and came ; between the eastern coast of Ireland, and the opposite shores of Britain from Caithness to Cornwall. When the *Norse-men*, in the eighth and ninth centuries, descended, in naval expeditions for piracy or conquest, upon the coasts of the middle and western countries of Europe ; Ireland soon engaged their notice, and became a scene of their depredations and colonial settlement. After various temporary descents, which had

had no farther object, than the acquisition of plunder; they invaded Armagh, with a mighty force; conquered a large extent of territory; and established, there, a new monarchy; which, within less than half a century subsequent, reduced all Ireland under its dominion. A long series of struggles followed, between the Norse-men still striving to maintain, to confirm, and to extend their power; and the native Irish, labouring to break the yoke of servitude, and to expel the strangers from their island. The Norse-men, were, in the progress of their contentions; converted from paganism, to Christianity. The Irish Clergy were, during the same time, partially reconciled, and subjected to the Church of Rome. At last, the descendents of the invaders, ceased to be regarded as foreigners: The Norse-men, and the Old Irish, were blended together into one people: The former insensibly assumed the language and manners of the latter; and, in turn, communicated to *them*, their arts and institutions. Ireland was now divided into many principalities; as Britain had been, in the days of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy, and the Strathclydian, Scottish, and Pictish kingdoms. Sometimes, one of those Irish Princes, possessing wider dominion, or a more illustrious, personal character, than the rest; attained an acknowledged superiority over them; similar to that which some of the Anglo-Saxon Monarchs

SECT. I.  
CH. VII.

SECT. I.  
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narchs of all England, gained, for a time, over the petty, but independent Princes who possessed the rest of the British isle. Whatever legal or political institutions held any fixed existence among them, had been introduced by the Norse-men; or had originated in the influence of the Clergy, and in the imitation of the order of the Christian Church. The first cities in Ireland, were built by the Norse colonies: The laws of *Tanistry*, were adopted from them: The various spoils of their piratical expeditions; gold, silver, brass, and iron, and many precious productions of the Arts; being brought by them, into Ireland, and there deposited or lost; were, in a future age, to be mistaken for relics of the imaginary civilization of the Irish, in some very remote period of unrecorded antiquity.

WHILE thus occupied, and in this state of government and manners; Ireland and its inhabitants began, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to become continually more and more known to the English. Fugitives from England, on account of crimes or oppression, were accustomed to find refuge in Ireland. The Welsh, in the course of those long contentions, by which they resisted the extension of the English dominion, obtained from the Irish, frequent aid. The English Clergy had laboured, with some success, to reduce those

English  
conquests  
in Ireland.

of

of Ireland, into a dependency upon the English, <sup>SECT. I.  
CH. VII.</sup> metropolitan See of Canterbury. At length, in the usual spirit of those unquiet times, the Norman Monarchs of England, began to meditate the conquest of Ireland. Henry the Second obtained a bull from the Pope, by which he was formally authorized, in the name of Jesus Christ and his pretended vicegerent, to invade and subdue the Irish people; on condition, that he should reduce them universally, to adopt the Romish ritual of worship, to own the supremacy of the Holy Father, and to pay a tribute to St Peter. The intestine wars of the Irish, soon presented an opportunity for the English, to intermeddle in their affairs. One of their Kings, overcome in war, and expelled from his small kingdom, by a more powerful neighbour, sought protection and aid from Henry. Henry permitted Richard Earl of Strongbow, to undertake an expedition, for the purpose of restoring Dermot, the exiled prince, to his throne. The English force, which was, in consequence of these transactions, introduced into Ireland, obtained establishments, by the success of their enterprizes; and within no long time, subjected a considerable extent of territory, along the eastern coasts of this isle, to the supreme dominion of the English Crown. Dublin, Wexford, and several other places of strength which had been founded by the Norsemen, fell into the hands of the English. After



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some time, King Henry himself, undertook an expedition into Ireland. The Irish chiefs seemed to contend, who should first make his peace with this mighty monarch, by unconditional submission. Only the princes of Connaught and Ulster, steadily maintained their independence. The Irish Clergy, in a national assembly, acknowledged Henry for the Lord and Sovereign of Ireland; and adopted the ritual of the English Church, as the rule of their ecclesiastical discipline and worship. Even the laws of England, were hastily accepted, to regulate the social relations, and the administration of distributive justice among the Irish. Due measures were taken for the maintenance, and extension of the English power; and Henry then departed out of the island. A long series of unremitted wars, ensued; in which the Irish chieftains still laboured to resist the progress, and to recover the previous conquests, of the English; the English, impelled by all the furies of avarice, ambition, and revenge, still pursued their career, and, although not without occasional disasters, continued to enlarge their authority, and their possessions, among the Irish; the English nobles sometimes combined with the Irish chieftains, against one another, or in rebellious opposition to their sovereign; and the Irish chieftains, in like manner, often aided the conquests of the strangers; while the English and the Irish mutual-  
ly

ly caught the impression of another's manners; SECT. I.  
CH. VII. and the continual warfare which prevailed throughout the island, contributed to throw all its inhabitants back, to a certain degree, into that dark and rugged barbarism, out of which, even the Irish had begun to emerge. In the latter years of his reign, Henry sent John, the youngest of his sons, to conduct the Irish government and wars. But, neither during the closing reign of his father Henry; nor while he held the lordship of Ireland, under his elder brother, Richard; could John complete the conquest of the island; or reduce those Irish who acknowledged the authority of the English government, into a state of peaceable obedience to the laws. John, at length attaining, himself, to the sovereignty of the English dominions; continued to manage the affairs, of Ireland, with considerable attention, but various success; till the whole island was, at length, brought into nominal subjection to his power. From his son and successor, Henry the Third, the Irish obtained the same charter of liberty, which the English Barons had wrested from John. During the reign of Edward the First, his Lieutenants laboured, with considerable success, to establish the English laws, as the only rules of government and civil intercourse, in Ireland; several parliaments were here held; and Edward drew occasional aid out of Ireland, for his French and Scottish wars. Edward

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CH. VII.



ward the Second committed the lieutenancy of Ireland, for a short time, to his favourite, Piers Gaveston; nor did Gaveston, in this instance, disgrace his master's choice. But, the ancient Irish were not yet reduced to entire submission, or orderly obedience. They spurned and struggled, like beasts of prey in confinement; and were, for ever, breaking out into acts of outrage, resistance, and desperate hostility. We have seen, that, they lent aid to Robert Bruce in the beginning of his contest with the English. They rejoiced in his progressive success. They were easily tempted to undertake new enterprises against the authority of the English in their island, upon the promise of assistance from the Scots; whom they esteemed their brethren; and who were, at this time, regarded, as heroes, invincible in battle; in valour, and military conduct, infinitely superior to the English\*.

Motives  
upon  
which the  
Scots un-  
dertook  
an expedi-  
tion into  
Ireland.

THE Scottish King and his nobles appear to have believed, that, the impatience with which the Irish endured the English yoke; the general weakness and disorder into which the English government was at this time thrown, by Edward's errors and

\* Compare Keating:—O'Halloran:—O'Connor's Essay:—Vallancey's *Collectanea Hibernica*:—Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*:—Leland's *Hist. of Ireland*, &c.

and misfortunes; their own unconquerable intre-  
pidity and fortitude; and that high tide of success  
which had, for some time attended all their exertions; might enable them, with the assistance of the Irish themselves, to drive the English out of Ireland, as they had, already driven them out of Scotland. The supposed common descent of the two nations, seemed to impose it, as an indispensable duty on the Scots, to interpose for the deliverance of their Hibernian brethren from foreign oppression. A martial and adventurous spirit was kindled among the Scots, which would not permit them to lay themselves down in the inert inactivity of that peace with England, which seemed likely to be the speedy consequence of their late successes. Scotland was too narrow a theatre for the ambition of so many heroes. Each of the noble companions of Bruce, seemed worthy to be, himself, a king. The Irish chiefs of Ulster, eagerly agreed to receive Edward Bruce for their sovereign: And the island was so extensive, and in such a state of insubordination, as to present a fair field to the ambition, not only of Edward Bruce, but likewise of all the distinguished Scottish Knights who were ready to accompany him, on the destined expedition\*.

SECT. I.  
CH. VII.

A. D.  
1315-

IN

\* Fordun. XII. 25:—Annal. Hibern. apud Camden:—Barbour, B. XIV.

SECT. I.  
CH. VII.

A. D.  
1315  
The land-  
ing and  
first enter-  
prizes of  
the Scots  
in Ireland.

IN the month of May, in the year one thousand three hundred and fifteen, Edward Bruce; with an army of six thousand men; and attended by Randolph, Philip Mowbray, John Soulis, John Stewart, Fergus of Ardrossan, and Ramfay of Ouchterhouse; embarked on board three hundred boats, and sailed from the bay of Ayr, for Ireland. On the twenty-fifth day of the same month, they landed near Carrickfergus, on the north-east coast of that isle. The Irish chieftains of the province of Ulster, immediately assembled; did homage to Edward Bruce, as their King; and gave him hostages, in pledge for their fidelity. In union with the forces which these chieftains brought, to augment it, the Scottish army was soon sufficiently powerful in numbers, to over-run the province, and to bid defiance to the English, and their adherents. With savage and unsparing fury, they depopulated and laid waste, all the English settlements in these northern parts of the island. Cottages, castles, villages, walled towns, were plundered, burnt, and levelled with the ground. No vigorous defence was attempted; for, the English were scattered over the country; and were taken unaware, and unprepared. The news of the landing of the Scots; of their junction with their Irish allies; of the desolation and carnage produced by their first enterprizes in the north; and particularly of the sack and burning

burning of the towns of Dundalk and Atherdee ; SECT. I.  
CH. VII. being soon communicated throughout all Ireland ;  
excited the native Irish, every where, to joy, wanton fury, and uncontrollable insurrection ; but struck the hearts of their English oppressors with solicitous alarm, and for a time, confounded their counsels with mutual recrimination and distrust, wavering indecision, and inconsiderate temerity of purpose, which fruitlessly wasted their strength\*.

YET, old De Burgh, Earl of Ulster ; a man, whose great military qualities had been long and gloriously tried in the Irish wars ; mustered what force he could easily raise ; and advanced to make head against the Scots. Butler, the English King's Lieutenant in Ireland, came with the troops of Leinster, to take part against the common enemy. De Burgh scornfully refused this proffered aid ; and Butler therefore returned to the protection of Leinster, the province which was the most immediately under his own care. The Scots retired, till De Burgh's confidence, and haughty contempt of such enemies, were increased to an unfoldierly security, and the most presumptuous rashness. Bruce, then, seizing an advantageous opportunity, sent a large detachment of his forces,  
to

Defeat of  
de Burgh,  
Earl of  
Ulster.

\* Lib. Clonmacn. Monast. quoted by Leland, Vol. I. P. 266, 267 :—Annal. Hibern. ut supra :—Barbour, B. XIV.

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to march unseen, and make a sudden attack on the enemy ; while to *them*, his whole army should still seem ; in consequence of the art with which appearances were to be managed ; to rest within their camp. The artifice succeeded. The English being assailed, unexpectedly, on the flank, were quickly thrown into confusion, and dispersed in flight. Many of the principal persons in De Burgh's army, were made prisoners. Others escaping to the castle of Carrickfergus ; shut themselves up in it ; and determined to defend it against the Scots, to the last extremity. After some fruitless efforts to take this castle, Bruce desisted from the siege\*.

RANDOLPH, having, in the mean time, revisited Scotland, now returned, with a re-inforcement of five hundred men, to recruit the army of Edward Bruce. Thus strengthened, the Scots marched southward, through Meath, into Kildare. In Kildare, they were opposed by Butler, the English King's Lieutenant, with an army much more numerous, than *their* whole force. But, the fears and mutual discord of the English, more than the arms of the Scots, soon drove Butler's forces into base retreat. The native Irish continued with growing eagerness, to associate themselves to the prosperous fortunes of their Scottish Allies. The

\* Ann. Hibern. ut supra :—Barbour, XIV.

chieftains of Connaught, with those of Meath and Munster, revolted from the English, and declared in favour of Edward Bruce. A famine, however, hindered Bruce, for some time, from prosecuting his victories southward, with that rapidity with which he might otherwise have advanced. He returned backwards into Ulster; but, on this retreating march, confirmed the reputation of his valour and success, by defeating the English under Lord Mortimer; who had again ventured to attack him, at Kenlis in Meath. Arrived in Ulster, Edward there awaited a season more favourable for new enterprizes; in the mean time, exercising the authority of a sovereign; repressing licentiousness; and enforcing the laws of civil order. His faithful Randolph went again to Scotland, to procure new succours\*.

SECT. I.  
CH. VII.

The English defeated in Meath.

AFTER no long period of inactivity, Edward Bruce renewed the siege of Carrickfergus. The garrison withstood the besiegers, till a considerable body of English troops, under the command of Lord Mandeville, came, by sea, to their relief. On the next morning, after his arrival, Mandeville, unexpectedly, assaulted the Scottish out-posts; while all the Scots lay unarmed, in disorder, and asleep; except only a company of sixty men, under the

Carrickfergus taken by the Scots.

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B b

command

\* Ann. Hibern. apud Camden.



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command of Neil Fleming; who kept watch, as the guard of the camp. Fleming, and the soldiers who watched with him, saw that, unless they alone, should, for some time, resist the assailants; rout and carnage must be instantly spread through the Scottish tents; and that, attempting, alone, to withstand the whole English force, they must, all, inevitably perish. While some went to rouse the camp; Fleming, with the rest, generously devoted themselves to death, for their commander, and their fellow-soldiers. Their heroism saved the army. Before *their* resistance could be entirely overcome; Bruce himself, with a company of those who had been quartered nearest to him, were in arms. Gilbert Harper, the foremost man in this company, and one of the doughtiest warriors in Bruce's army; eagerly marked Mandeville, advancing at the head of his troops; rushed forward upon him; and to the great dismay of the English, with one stroke of his battle-axe, laid their leader prostrate on the earth. Macnicol, with two hundred Irish spearmen, in the mean time, came up, to second Bruce's efforts; and the whole Scottish force was soon ready to sustain and aid them. Terror and confusion were turned from the Scots, to the side of the English. They fled towards the castle. But, the garrison had drawn up the bridge, and shut the gates; being too much alarmed for their own safety, to heed the fate of their companions.

These,

These, thus exposed, without refuge, to the rage SECT. I.  
CH. VII. of the enemy, were almost all slain : and several of their vessels, in the harbour, were, at the same time seized by the Scots and their Irish associates. Fleming still breathed, but was in the last agonies of death, when the engagement was thus happily terminated. His brave comrades had to a man, fallen gallantly beside him. Edward Bruce ; although too familiar to scenes of death, and of a nature too stern and rugged, to be easily moved to tender sorrow, by the accidents of war ; yet, could not refrain from bitter lamentation, when he beheld the mangled and bleeding bodies of those generous and heroic men ; and when he reflected on the magnanimity with which they had devoted themselves to certain death, and on the safety and victory which he owed to their mortal efforts. The fate of the castle of Carrickfergus, was, however, suspended, for some time longer, by a truce with the garrison, to which Bruce found it necessary to consent. No relief arrived to them, within the stipulated period ; and at the end of it, they were, therefore, in compliance with the conditions of the truce, to surrender the castle to the Scots. Bruce sent thirty men to receive their submission, and to take possession of the castle, in his name. But, when the English saw, that this slender party had entered the castle, and were now within their power ; they, without respecting their engagements,

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CH. VII.

engagements, threw these thirty Scots into confinement, and again bade defiance to Bruce and his host, from the castle-walls. He possessed no means by which he could chastise their perfidy, except that of continuing to blockade the castle, till they should be reduced by famine, to surrender. Hopeless, now of mercy from the besiegers, if they should fall into *their* hands; and still obstinately cherishing an anxious, torturing expectation of relief; the garrison continued to hold out, with a savage firmness of spirit, which, by its expedients, commands, at once, our admiration, and our horror. Their provisions were, at length, wholly consumed; although they had for some time, confined themselves to a few morsels, each, in the day. Relief, however, appeared not; yet, might soon arrive. The hides of the cattle they had slain, remained to them: and with these, they sustained life, till these were also entirely devoured. In the wild fury of hunger, obstinacy, and revenge, they, at last, laid hands upon their Scottish prisoners; and for some short space, protracted their own fate, by slaying these victims, and making a few horrid repasts upon human flesh. After all, Edward Bruce, either ignorant, that they were reduced to such extremities; or aware, that an English army was now at hand, to relieve them; admitted

admitted them to terms of capitulation ; and thus SECT. L  
CH. VII.  
gained possession of the castle\*.

HIS brother, the King of the Scots, in the mean A. D.  
1316.  
time, arrived in Ireland, with those new succours,  
which Randolph had, some time before, gone to  
demand. He landed at Carrickfergus, when the  
garrison in its castle, were about to capitulate. A  
detachment of the Scottish force, soon after, suf-  
fered a discomfiture from a body of troops with  
which John Logan, and Hugh Bisset, were advan-  
cing, when it was now too late, to raise the siege  
of Carrickfergus. But, the action produced no  
consequences, decidedly useful to the English, or  
adverse to the designs of the Scots. The army of The Scots  
march in-  
to the  
south of  
Ireland.  
the united Scots and Irish ; led by the two Kings ;  
for Edward Bruce had been lately crowned King  
of Ireland, at Dundalk ; proceeded on a second  
expedition southwards, with as much favour of  
the Irish, and as great terrour on the part of the  
English ; as if no such partial disaster had yet be-  
fallen them. Their march was through Louth,  
to Slane. Another army of great force, was mus-  
tered by the English Lords, to oppose them. The  
English had stationed themselves within a wood,  
to await the approach of the Scots and their Al-  
lies. But, the Scots, unwilling there to give bat-  
tle

\* Barbour, B. XV :—Annal. Hibern. ut supra.

SECT. I.  
CH. VII.

tle to their foes, skilfully contrived to pass, at such a distance from the main army of the English; that, the latter could neither bring the former to a general engagement; nor yet harass them, by hanging on their flank or rear, so as to turn their invading march into retreat or flight. However, some scouting parties from the van of the English, came up with the loiterers in the Scottish rear; but, were quickly repulsed; and might have been pursued back to their main army; had not Robert Bruce; cautious to avoid coming unseasonably to a general engagement; restrained, although with great difficulty, the ardour of his troops. His brother Edward had hurried so impatiently forward, with the van division of their army; that the rear under Robert's command, might have been routed and dispersed by an hostile force, before the van could have returned to their assistance. The Scots advanced, unchecked in their career, to the neighbourhood of Dublin\*.

DUBLIN was the principal seat of the English government in Ireland. Hither had the Earl of Ulster retired, in shame and vexation, when he found himself unable to resist the career of the Scots. It was a city defended by walls, and occupied by a considerable number of citizens, bearing

\* Annal. Hibern :—Barbour, B. XVI.

ing arms, and exercised in war. The Earl of Ulster, being brother to the wife of Robert Bruce; and having, for some time, ceased from his first vigorous opposition to the invaders; incurred the suspicion of holding a traitorous correspondence with his brother-in-law, or at least, of favouring the invasion. The citizens of Dublin, in a sudden fury, cast him into confinement. With one accord, they then burnt down the suburbs, situate without the walls of their city; demolished a church which stood contiguous; repaired their walls with the materials of these ruins; and resolutely determined to preserve Dublin from falling into the hands of their enemies, or to perish, all, in its defence. Deterred by the aspect of these preparations, the Scots would not attempt the siege of Dublin. They, however, made themselves masters of Castle-Knock in its vicinity; encamped for some days, at Leixlip; then continued their march, by Naas, to Callen in the county of Kilkenny; and being aided by the Lacys, Nobles of English origin, and by the Irish Chieftains of Munster and Connaught; advanced, without meeting opposition, as far as Limerick. The objects of the Scots, in this incursion, were, to obtain supplies of provisions, of which there was now an extreme scarcity in the northern provinces; to afford to such of the Irish and English, as were disposed to revolt from the English government,

SECT. I.  
CH. VII.

A. D.  
1317.

Successes  
of the  
Scots in  
the south.

SECT. I.  
CH. VII.

ment, a due opportunity of espousing the cause of Edward Bruce; and to strike, at once, at the root of the English dominion in Ireland, by attacking those who maintained and administered it, in the principal seats of their authority and power. Wherever the Scots came, they depopulated and laid waste the open country, with the usual havoc and devastation of war. The flocks and herds of those who joined them, might indeed be spared; but, the possessions of their enemies, were, for this, the more rapaciously plundered. Although they had left behind them, various strong places still secure in the hands of the English; yet, their successes, and the general impression which they made, were astonishingly great. It seemed probable, that Edward Bruce might, within no long space of time, become entirely master of this kingdom, the Crown of which he had assumed\*.

YET, the Scots had acted with inconsiderate rashness, in advancing so far southward. They had no sea-port-town, in their possession, but Carrickfergus; and their enemies being now left behind them, might cut them off from all possibility of retreating thither, in order to escape into their own country, if any fatal disasters should befall them.

\* Annal. Hibern :—Barbour XVI.

them. A numerous, but discordant and tumultu-  
 ary army, was mustered against them, by the Eng-  
 lish Lords, in Kilkenny. But, fear, and dissension  
 confounded the counsels of the English, and pal-  
 sified their valour. They could not agree among  
 themselves, either to attack the Scots, in one de-  
 cisive action; or only, to hover about them, till  
 they should retreat; and then to hang upon their  
 rear, and harass their march with incessant skir-  
 mishes, till they might be thrown into confusion,  
 and scattered in flight. In the mean time, Roger  
 Lord Mortimer; newly appointed by the English  
 King, to the Lieutenancy of Ireland; arrived in  
 the island; and sent his orders to the commanders  
 of the English troops in Kilkenny, to attempt no-  
 thing farther against the Scots, until he himself  
 should join them. The Scots wisely taking ad-  
 vantage of the inaction of their enemies, began  
 their retreat, and quickly made their way back,  
 unmolested, into the province of Kildare. On  
 their march, they were reduced by famine, to ex-  
 treme distress. They killed their horses, and de-  
 voured the carcases; and notwithstanding this  
 miserable resource, many died for want of food.  
 But, Mortimer; having dissolved, and dismissed  
 the tumultuary army of the English, which he found  
 vainly assembled in Kilkenny; could not muster  
 a sufficient body of more regular troops, with such  
 expedition, as to follow and overtake the Scots, in

SECT. I.  
CH. VII.



SECT. I.  
CH. VII.

The re-  
turn of the  
Scots into  
Ulster;  
and depar-  
ture of  
Robert  
Bruce for  
Scotland.

their distress. They halted, for some days, near Trim; and then renewing their progress, arrived, once more, in Ulster. If there might be in the incursion, too much of the ardent and headlong temerity of Edward Bruce; the skill and success of the retreat, were, however, worthy of the wisdom and high military talents of his brother, Robert. Only famine, and their fortifications, had saved the English from being, at once, conquered, and expelled out of Ireland, by the Scots. The affairs of his own kingdom, and the necessity there was, for providing new supplies to recruit the army in Ulster; now obliged Robert Bruce to return to Scotland. Randolph accompanied him. They sailed from Carrickfergus, and soon landed safe in Galloway\*.

BUT, Robert Bruce found the English too busy and powerful on the southern frontier of his kingdom, to allow him to dispatch new succours to his brother in Ireland. Mortimer chastised the rebellious chiefs of those districts which the Scots had lately over-run; and made considerable progress in restoring the authority of the English government among the native Irish of the southern and eastern counties. But, Edward Bruce, receiving no supplies from Scotland; having seen his first tide

\* Annal. Hibern :—Barbour XVI.

tide of success, to stagnate and become refluent; SECT. I.  
CH. VII. and beholding the flower and strength equally of his Scottish followers, and of his Irish subjects, to be consumed before him, by famine, the horrors and miseries of which, were every day augmented; could make no mighty effort; to counteract the new exertions of the English, or to maintain the glory of his arms, and the terrour of his name. By the interference of the Pope, in behalf of the English King, Bruce was deprived, in a great measure, of that powerful aid which he had found in the activity and zeal with which the Irish Clergy had exercised in his favour, all the influence of superstition upon the minds of a rude and ignorant people. Both Edward Bruce, and Robert Bruce, were solemnly excommunicated; and in this age, papal excommunication was terrible, as the severest of those scourges with which the God of mercy, at times afflicts mankind. After Mortimer's return to England, Sir John Bermingham succeeded to the command of the English armies in Ireland. While the Scots were in want of every necessary, the English were abundantly supplied with provisions, arms, and military stores; which were now diligently sent to them by sea. The old Earl of Ulster, had been, some time since, released out of prison, with the restored confidence of his fellow-countrymen; and he now cordially co-operated with them against the Scots. The English

SECT. I.  
CH. VII.

Edward  
Bruce de-  
feated and  
slain.

A. D.  
1318.

English no longer contented themselves with operations merely defensive; but were led by Bermingham, to attack the Scots in Ulster, the only province which remained in allegiance to Edward Bruce. By the necessity of his circumstances, and the impetuous ardour of his spirit, Bruce was impelled to risk all his possessions and hopes in Ireland, upon the event of one great and desperate battle. At Fagher, near Dundalk, the two armies encountered each other. The battle was long, obstinate, and bloody. On both sides, the numbers and valour were nearly equal. But, the English were more completely equipped and better armed than the Scots; and not, like them, enfeebled by long want and hunger. The Archbishop of Armagh exhorted the English soldiers to *quit themselves like men*; and Bermingham, their commander, led them bravely on. Lord Soulis, Sir John Stewart, Philip Mowbray, Gilbert Harper, and almost the whole strength of the Scots, nobly fell, in close combat with their enemies. The body of Edward Bruce himself, was found lifeless on the field, after the battle: It lay stretched under the corpse of John Maupas; by whose hand Edward had fallen; and who had been, at the same time, mortally wounded by the royal Scot. By the event of this battle, the Scottish invasion of Ireland was entirely defeated; and all their splendid hopes of conquest, and of the foundation

dation of a new monarchy in this isle, were, for SECT I.  
CH. VII.  
 ever, frustrated. A soldier, named John Thom-  
 son, collected the few survivors of those thousands  
 of Scots, who, in the first expedition, and in sub-  
 sequent re-inforcements, had sailed into Ireland, to  
 conquer a kingdom for Edward Bruce; conducted  
 them, through many difficulties, to Carrickfergus;  
 and embarking, with these, his brothers in arms  
 and misfortune, on board some boats in that har-  
 bour; at last landed, with them, in safety on the  
 coast of Galloway. Those Irish chieftains and  
 their tribes, who, in rebellion against the English  
 government, had invited the Scots into Ireland,  
 and had accepted Edward Bruce, for their Sove-  
 reign; were, of necessity, abandoned to the rage  
 of the victors. The lifeless body of Edward Bruce  
 was, with the inhumanity of triumphant cowardice,  
 quartered by the English, and distributed, in pieces  
 over the country. His too ardent valour, and  
 occasionally melting generosity of heart, deserved  
 a better fate\*.

THIS disastrous expedition of the Scots into Reflec-  
tions on  
the policy  
of the  
Scottish  
expedition  
into Ire-  
land.  
 Ireland, was one of those adventures into which  
 the restless, and martial spirit of the Age, conti-  
 nually impelled the inhabitants of Europe. It  
 was, in some measure, the necessary effect of fa-  
 mine,

\* Annal. Hibern :—Barbour, B. XVIII.

SECT. I.  
CH. VII.

mine, occasioned by long-continued warfare; and of those military habits, which rendered the Scottish warriors unfit to make provision for their wants, otherwise than with their swords. Although wise and pacific policy would not have planned such an enterprize; yet, it was less hurtful to Scotland; than if the same military operations had been carried on, within Britain, and either on the English border, or in the interior districts of the Scottish kingdom. Scotland, though not yet absolutely at peace with the English; enjoyed, however, while Ireland was the principal seat of the war; a degree of comparative rest and tranquillity, which was needful, to allow the waste of population to be reproduced; the flocks and herds to be replaced and multiplied; that little cultivation of the ground which the people knew to practise,—to be once more renewed. Had it not been for the breathing-time thus afforded; Scotland might soon have become an uninhabitable desert. It is likewise true, that if the Scots had attempted an invasion of England, *for conquest and settlement*, at the time when they made their expedition into Ireland; the whole English nation would have unanimously combined, under their king, to oppose and repulse the invaders; but that, Edward's English Barons were too highly discontented with his government, to serve him with equal readiness in defence of his foreign possessions; and

and that, the native Irish were to be expected to join the Scots, with one voice, as their deliverers. SECT. I. CH. VIII.

The Scottish expedition into Ireland terminated in misfortune; but, when the spirit and the ignorance of the age are duly considered; it cannot appear to have been very unwisely concerted.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Continuation, and end of ROBERT BRUCE'S reign.*

AT the time when Edward Bruce went, to find death or a crown in Ireland; Scotland was left at peace on its southern frontier; because the English were, for the present unable to renew the invasion; and because the Scots chose to transfer the farther prosecution of the war, to a foreign country. The history of Scotland resumed.

ROBERT BRUCE seized this interval, to make an expedition to the Hebridian isles. These isles had been but lately ceded by the Norwegians to the Scottish Crown. They were thinly inhabited by a savage race of people, partly of Norwegian, and in part of Scottish or Irish descent. Removed by their local circumstances, from the ready restraint Robert Bruce's expedition to the Hebrides.

SECT., I.  
CH. VIII.



A. D.  
1313.

straint of that government to which they had become nominally subject; and in the rudeness of their knowledge and manners, strangers to the benefits of social order; the Hebudians still lived in a state of lawless independence; obedient to no authority, except for the moment at which it was irresistibly enforced by arms; in continual hostility with one another, and with all their neighbours around. From the death of Alexander the Third, to the battle of Bannockburn, the uncertain state of the sovereignty of Scotland, had left no leisure to its rulers, during which, they might have reduced the Hebudians to due subordination. Robert Bruce had found a temporary refuge among them; and had obtained, out of the isles, some occasional supplies of forces, to recruit his armies, against the English. But, his enemies from the northern and western Highlands, had since retired to the Hebudæ; where they instigated the islanders to take up arms against him; and scorned or eluded the sovereign authority, to which he had now attained. To quell the rebellion thus excited; and to strike a terror into the minds of the Hebudians, which might retain them henceforth, in due subjection to his government; were the objects of the expedition now undertaken by Bruce, against these isles. Having sailed, probably out of the frith of Clyde, to the coast of the promontory of Cantyre; he wisely avoided the terribly

ribly dangerous navigation round the *Mull* or ex-<sup>SECT. I.</sup>  
 tremity of that promontory ; and ordered the small <sup>CH VIII.</sup>  
 vessels of his little fleet, to be dragged, with what-  
 ever difficulty, across the narrow isthmus of Tar-  
 bat ; which forms the point of junction between  
 Cantyre and Knapdale. One great difficulty be-  
 ing thus surmounted ; Bruce sailed into Ilay, Mull,  
 Sky, and the contiguous isles ; was, every where,  
 either received by the islanders, with unresisting  
 submission,—or was at least, easily victorious over any  
 resistance attempted by them ; and soon made pri-  
 soner, John Stewart of Lorn, the chief author of  
 the rebellion. Stewart was sent to confinement in  
 the castle of Dunbarton ; from which he was, after  
 some time, transferred to the castle of Lochleven ;  
 where he remained, in captivity, till his death.  
 The King, after subduing the islanders, spent some  
 time among them, and in the contiguous shires of  
 Inverness, Argyle, and Dunbarton ; distributing  
 justice ; re-establishing order ; and gratifying him-  
 self and his attendants, by the frequent chase of  
 the deer, roes, and other wild animals with which  
 these places abounded. About the time of his re-  
 turn from this successful Hebrudian expedition ;  
 died his daughter Marjory, the wife of Walter  
 Stewart ; probably in child-bed ; and after having  
 born a son, who was named from his grandfather,  
 Robert\*.

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D d

WHILE

\* Barbour, Book XV.



SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.

Transac-  
tions on  
the Eng-  
lish fron-  
tier.

WHILE Robert Bruce went, in the following year, to aid his brother in the Irish wars; as has been related; the English began to attempt some new enterprizes against Scotland. Berwick, if not also Dunbar, was still in the possession of the English; as well as some other fortified places; within their own territories, indeed; yet close upon the confines between the two kingdoms. From these, they now made occasional inroads into the adjacent possessions of the Scots. But, James Douglas had been left, to protect the Scottish border; and none could be more ardent or watchful than he, to anticipate or repulse invasion. The Earl of Arundel, having made a plundering incursion, with a considerable force, from Berwick into the forest of Jedburgh, was suddenly encountered, and defeated by Douglas; with the loss of Thomas de Richmond, one of his principal officers; who is said to have been slain by Douglas's own hand. Another inroad, made into Teviotdale, by a body of English troops, under the command of Edmond de Cailaud, a Gascon Knight; had almost been more successful: The English were already returning homewards with a large booty of cattle and other goods; when they were pursued by Douglas and Adam Gordon, with a number of the neighbouring peasantry, hastily assembled, and imperfectly armed: Douglas and Gordon coming within sight of the enemy, perceiv-  
ed

ed De Cailaud's troops to be, in all respects, so <sup>SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.</sup> much superior to their own, that nothing but the impossibility of now retreating with safety, could justify them in hazarding an engagement: Douglas was himself, an host; and his presence encouraged his followers to fight with an intrepidity, of which they might, otherwise, have been incapable: De Cailaud and many of his soldiers were slain: The booty was entirely recovered: Few of the English escaped, alive, to tell the news of their discomfiture, at Berwick. The brave Douglas, not content to repulse the English incursions into the Scottish territory; advanced to the neighbourhood of Berwick; and, in the face of an English army commanded by Robert Neville; made an hostile inroad into the English domains: Neville, finding himself at the head of a force superior in numbers, to that of Douglas; and being impatient to extinguish the disgrace which the English arms had suffered in the late engagements with the Scots; eagerly drew out his troops, and came to give battle to the enemy: The genius of Douglas, the fortune of the Scots, once more prevailed; After an obstinate and bloody contest, Neville was slain, and his troops were routed: In the pursuit, several of the most eminent of the surviving English officers were made prisoners: The Scots then spoiled the country,

SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.  
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country, and returned home, rich with the plunder*.

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Bishop
Sinclair
defeats the
English at
Inverkei-
thing.

THESE skirmishes, inroads, and rencounters, indicate the prevalence of an inveterate, inextinguishable hostility of spirit, between the Scots and the English; even when their strength was, on both sides, so much exhausted; that they could no longer make any powerful efforts against each other. Unable to penetrate by land, into the Scottish territories; the English sent a fleet into the frith of Forth; to ravage and alarm the coasts; and, if possible, to seize some strong place, and secure some permanent conquests for their King. This fleet, sailed up the frith, as far as to the fine, natural bason under Inverkeithing; there rested their vessels at anchor; and issued out into the country of Fife. At sight of the English fleet in the frith, the inhabitants of Fife, gathered together, to the number of five hundred men, under their Earl and Sheriff, to oppose the landing of the invaders. But, dismayed, at finding, that the English had already left their ships, and were posted, in great force, to receive them, as they approached the shore; these troops, with their leaders, basely betook themselves to flight, without meeting the first onset of the enemy. On their flight,

* Barbour, Book XV.

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with their utmost might; the Pope, the common Father of Christendom, was induced to interpose his exhortations and good offices, in order to conciliate a peace between these two nations. Edward of England had bound himself by a vow, to visit the Holy Land; and the Pope, about this time, projected a new crusade. The views of the papal policy, would, therefore, have been promoted by that relief from the hostilities of the Scots, which the English anxiously desired. Edward's first favourites, the causes of the first dissensions between him and his Nobles, had, indeed, been torn from the fond protection of their King; and indignantly put to death. But, the weakness, if not the wickedness of this monarch, had again provoked the discontents and rebellion of a faction of his most potent subjects. Perplexed amidst foreign wars, and internal rebellion; Edward was so far from having leisure to fulfil his vow of visiting the Holy Land; that, he found himself unable, even to support his government, and defend his dominions; and began to tremble for the security of his life and throne. His foreign wars gave encouragement to intestine rebellion; his domestic troubles afforded advantages to his foreign enemies: And he had some reason to suspect a secret correspondence between the Scots and his factious Nobles; which enabled them to act with a harmony of counsels and of efforts; although they

they were not openly in union. In these circumstances, Edward was more eager to embrace the mediation of the Pope, than either the Scots, or even his own subjects. Without consulting either of the contending nations, the Holy Father, by his own supreme ecclesiastical authority, appointed a truce between them, to endure for two years; and threatened excommunication against that one of the two nations which should first violate this truce; or against them both, if they should refuse obedience to the *bull* by which it was enjoined. Two Cardinals came into Britain, as the ambassadors of this pacification. Nor was their mission confined in its views, to obtain only the ratification and observance of the truce. They were to mediate, if possible, a lasting peace, between the Scots and the English. From England, they sent messengers to Robert Bruce, with letters from the Pope, and from themselves. But, the *title of King of Scotland*, was, in these letters withheld from Bruce. He refused, therefore, to receive them; to agree to the truce; or to listen to any mediation for a more permanent peace; till this preliminary article should have been first adjusted to his satisfaction. In spite, however, of Bruce and his Counsellors, the Legates from the Pontiff, determined, that, the truce should be proclaimed in Scotland. On this business, they sent Adam Newton, a Minorite Friar, of Berwick. He found Bruce,

at

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at the distance of not many miles from that city, to which he was advancing, with an army, to besiege it. The Friar proclaimed the truce in the hearing of the Scottish forces; but could not obtain admission into the presence of their King; or permission to pass farther into Scotland, for the purpose of communicating the *bull* for the truce, and the denunciations by which it was enforced, to the Scottish Clergy. He was dismissed with the assurance, that Bruce would listen to no terms of truce or accommodation with the English; unless he should be formally addressed by the title of *King of Scotland*; and, even in this case, not until he should have first made himself master of Berwick. On his return, the Monk was way-laid, stripped, and robbed of all his papers. Bruce, and all who adhered to him, were, on account of these transactions, shortly after, excommunicated\*.

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WHETHER deterred by the authority of the Pope, or called elsewhere by some sudden necessity of his affairs; the Scottish King did not immediately lay siege to Berwick. But, an unlooked-for incident put this town into his hands, sooner than he could have won it by the direct use of force alone. A person of the name of Spalding, one of the citizens, having been injured, or at least offend-  
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\* Fordra III. 594. 614. 657. 661. 663. 683, &c.

ed by the governor ; and being allied by marriage, SECT. I.  
CH. VIII. to some Scottish families ; resolved to betray the

town to the Scots. He made known his purpose to one of the Scottish nobles ; by whom it was, without delay, communicated to the King himself. The King instantly ordered him, whoever he was, that brought these glad tidings, to take a body of troops, and attend Spalding's directions, before the walls of Berwick. He gave orders, at the same time, to Douglas and Randolph, separately, to conduct, each a band of his followers, to a place where the King knew, that they would unavoidably meet with one another, and with the first company.

The three bands, accordingly, met together, at Berwick  
taken by  
the Scots. some small distance from the town, and in the

evening. With one accord, they advanced, cautiously, and in silence, under the darkness of night, to where Spalding awaited their approach, and was ready to give them, a signal, from the height of the wall. None else of the townsmen, were upon the watch, in that quarter. Instantly fixing their scaling-ladders, as Spalding directed, the Scottish leaders, with all their followers, ascended the walls, and poured into the town. Although thus betrayed and surprized, the townsmen quickly rose in arms, and made a stout, but unavailing defence. The Scots, prevailing, humanely spared all that begged their mercy. Many betook themselves for safety, to the castle ; which, being strong,



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and sufficiently garrisoned, did not depend upon the fate of the town. Within a very short space of time ; while the Scots were busily employed in securing their prisoners, and in seizing and dividing the spoil ; the garrison made a sudden and vigorous sally from the castle, with such desperate resolution, that they had almost overpowered the victors, and changed the fortune of the contest. Happily, William Keith of Gallston ; exerting an extraordinary valour which his fellow-soldiers beheld with admiration, while it confounded the enemy with astonishment and terror ; checked the progress of the sally ; and being readily seconded by the rest of the Scots, drove the assailants back into the castle. The castle sustained yet a siege for some weeks ; till the King himself, mustering a considerable army, came to join the besiegers ; after which, the garrison, notwithstanding all their gallantry and fortitude, were quickly reduced to surrender it, by a capitulation. Sparing this castle from that dismantlement or demolition, which had been exercised upon the other castles, retaken out of the hands of the English ; Bruce committed it ; as the master-key of the south-east frontier of his dominions ; to the keeping of his son-in-law, Walter Stewart ; and Stewart diligently strengthened himself in it, with stores and a numerous garrison ; that he might be prepared to defend it against every future attempt of its late masters.

masters. John Crab, a Flemish engineer, entered with the new garrison, to direct the reparation of the works of the castle, and to assist in providing all the artillery requisite for its future defence. Cattle and grain were brought from the English territories, to replenish the granaries and larder; and the river afforded abundance of salmon and other fishes useful for food. As the border of England was now defenceless, in consequence of the reduction of Berwick; Robert Bruce would not dismiss his army till he should have first gratified them with the easily won spoils of their enemies. From Berwick, he led his forces into Northumberland; where they quickly took the castles of Werk, Harbottle, and Mitford. After some short delay, they advanced farther, through Yorkshire; spoiled almost the whole of that territory; burnt its hamlets and villages; and exacted large contributions from the inhabitants of those places which they spared. They returned home, with much spoil, and many prisoners. The English King, in vain, invoked anew, the interference of the Pope; and endeavoured to muster an army with which he might march into Scotland. But, the joy of Bruce's successes, was changed for sorrow, soon after his return home, by the news of his brother's death, and of the final failure of the Scottish expedition into Ulster\*.

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CH. VIII.

Inroad into Yorkshire.

THE

\* Barbour, B. XVII.

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CH. VIII.



Parlia-  
ment at  
Scone.

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THE unhappy contentions in which the Scottish nation had now been, for more than twenty years, engaged ; had taught them to regard the indisputable settlement of the order of the succession to their throne, as the most important of all their common, national concerns. By the death of Edward Bruce, without male offspring ; and of Marjory, the daughter of Robert Bruce, after having born a son ; that order of regal succession which the estates of the kingdom, in Parliament, had formerly destined, was necessarily somewhat deranged. To provide for this, and other matters of import to the general welfare of the state, a Parliament of the Scottish nation, was again assembled at Scone, in the month of December, in the year one thousand three hundred and eighteen. In defiance of the authority of the Pope, under whose excommunication the Scots and their King at this time lay, on account of their hostility to England ; the members of this Parliament solemnly renewed their vows of allegiance to Robert Bruce ; and unanimously swore to defend their national liberties and honours, under his authority, against every human foe, however venerable, or however mighty. Robert, the son of Marjory Bruce, by Walter Stewart, was declared by them, to be the next heir to the royal power and honours of their present King. Thomas Randolph, or upon the event of his death, James Douglas, was appointed

pointed to become Tutor to the young King, and <sup>SECT. I.  
Cu. VIII.</sup> Governor of the kingdom, until the æra of his majority; if Robert Bruce should happen to die, while his successor were yet a minor. It was farther settled, to prevent future disputes concerning the royal succession; that, henceforth, the next male in the direct line, should ever succeed to the throne, upon the death of a king of Scotland; but that failing heirs male in the direct line, the next female heir of this line, should then inherit the Crown; and that, if there remained neither male nor female in the direct line, the regal inheritance should then devolve to the male, the nearest related to the deceased king, in collateral consanguinity. The Clergy in general, had been more uniformly zealous and active than the laity, in defending the liberties of the kingdom, against the English, through all the varying fortunes of the past part of the present contest; and one of the first cares of this Parliament, was, therefore, gratefully to provide for the preservation of the liberties, the privileges, and the property of the Church. A variety of other acts were, at the same time, ordained, for the regulation of the military service, for the protection of private property, for the maintenance of order, and for the distribution of justice\*.

BUT,

\* Forduni Scotichron. L. XIII. C. 13:—Appendix 25th to Anderson on the Independency of Scotland:—Statuta Roberti Primi.

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The Eng-  
lish pre-  
pare again  
to invade  
Scotland.

BUT, the King of England, could not yet resolve to forego all hopes of recovering Scotland, and to sit down, at home, in tranquillity and disgrace. New concessions wrested from his weakness, had again for a time, reconciled his turbulent Barons to their feudal duty. The termination of the Irish war, had shewn that the Scots were not yet, at all times, and in all places, invincible. Edward took courage, and strove to move heaven and earth against those mortal and abhorred foes, who had eluded, or triumphed over, him, since the very commencement of his reign. The Earl of Flanders, indeed; whose subjects, carrying on a gainful commerce with the Scots, supplied them with many of the necessaries for war; refused to prohibit this intercourse of traffic, at Edward's request; least the prohibition might prove ruinous to the wealth and industry of his own people. But, the Pope had readily met all Edward's wishes; and the Scots lay, even now, under all the odium, and the horrors of a Papal excommunication. Some Scottish nobles who had preferred the dominion of England to the independence of their country, were now, exiles, in Edward's Court; and, either the ties of friendship with these exiles, the terror of the Papal curses, or such discontents with their own King, as might be easily excited in their fierce and fickle minds; drew several others who were in Bruce's service, into a traitorous correspondence with

with England. When no longer at variance with <sup>SECT. I.</sup> their own King; the English again viewed the <sup>CH. VIII.</sup> Scots, with all the exasperated rage of rivalry, and of hostile neighbourhood; and with sufficient eagerness, obeyed Edward's call to another invasion of Scotland\*.

ASSEMBLING, therefore, a numerous army; and having obtained from his Clergy and other subjects, a large contribution in money, for the expences of the expedition; Edward came northwards, in the spring of the year one thousand three hundred and nineteen. His forces were summoned <sup>JUNE 10.</sup> to rendezvous at Newcastle, on the tenth day of <sup>A. D.</sup> the month of June. From Newcastle, he advanced, at the head of a mighty host, to the gates of Berwick. While his fleet from the *Cinque Ports*, <sup>Berwick</sup> entered the harbour, and blocked up this town, <sup>besieged</sup> by sea; his land-forces drew around it lines of cir- <sup>by the</sup> cumvallation, and completely invested it, by land. On all sides, the besiegers exerted themselves, with every variety of stratagem, and with incessant efforts of daring valour, to surprize the vigilance, to master the force, or to break through the defensive barriers, of the besieged. But, Walter Stewart and the garrison under his command, were not unprepared for a siege; nor were they unmindful, that

\* *Fœdera* III. 761. 758. 764. 770:—*Trivet Continuat.* 27:—*Barbour*, Vol. II. Book 17.

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that the glory of the Scottish arms, and the custody of the only undismantled fortification within the Scottish territories, had been, with confidence, intrusted to their well-tried valour. No stratagem could deceive their watchfulness; at every reiterated assault, they displayed, in their resistance, new heroism of spirit, and courage more irresistibly vigorous. The English, however, still resolutely continued the siege. From one of their vessels in the river, an attempt was made, to pass by a sort of temporary bridge, upon the wall, and into the town. This vessel could not be brought sufficiently near, to admit of the fixing of the bridge, to communicate between it and the wall; yet, in the trial, was stranded on the shore, and soon after, burnt by the besieged. In one general assault, made around the whole circumference of the walls, the besiegers almost overpowered the efforts of the townsmen and the garrison; these being worn out by the fatigues of their long defence; and not being sufficiently numerous, to fill all the posts of defence, at once. But, happily, in the critical moment when all seemed lost, the skill of the Scottish engineers, destroyed the principal machine with which the English battered the wall, and protected their attack. At this success, the besieged exultingly renewed their efforts; and the assailants were repulsed. With fresh troops they quickly returned, to press the assault. The alarm was suddenly

denly given, that they had gained the drawbridge, SECT. I.  
CH. VIII. at one of the gates ; and were about to make their way into the town, by burning down that gate. Stewart, with a small band, withdrawn from the defence of the walls, quickly rushed to the threat- Valour of  
Walter  
Stewart. ened gate, and commanded it to be set open. Through the flames with which it already blazed, he, with his brave comrades, sallied desperately forth upon the enemy. The English were, with difficulty driven back ; and till evening, the combat was obstinately prolonged. The assailants then ceased from their unsuccessful exertions, and retired from the walls, into their camp\*.

MEANWHILE, the invasion, and the events of the siege, were made known throughout Scotland. The King mustered his vassals, and hastened to the defence of his frontier. But, instead of risking the fate of Berwick, and indeed of his whole dominions, upon the issue of a single battle ; Bruce, with admirable policy, turned the march of his army to the western border ; leaving the garrison to defend themselves, without any immediate aid.

Douglas and Randolph, to whom the conduct of this expedition, was intrusted, advanced, at the head of fifteen thousand men, through Cumber- Successful  
inroad of  
Douglas  
and Ran-  
dolph into  
England. land

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F f

land

\* Fordun. XII. 37 :—Barbour, Book XVII :—Walsingham III.



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land and Westmoreland, into Yorkshire. Had not their intention been very narrowly prevented, the Queen of England would have been made their prize, at the place of her temporary residence, near York. Almost all the military men, out of these northern counties, being with their King, before Berwick; none but the unarmed peasantry and ecclesiastics remained, to make resistance to the invaders. While they wasted the country with the usual devastation of the Scottish inroads; the Archbishop of York, with laudable activity and zeal, assembled all the force of the neighbourhood; armed them in the best manner he could; and led them out to encounter the Scottish host. But, these troops of the Archbishop's, were a motely, undisciplined crowd of priests and peasants, who were rather frightened into valour, than inspired with any thing of the ardour of genuine courage. At Mitton, on the Swale, they afforded an easy victory to the Scots: Three thousand of them, were slain, and among these, three hundred ecclesiastics: Of those who fled, many perished in the river. Thus victorious over all opposition, the Scots under Randolph and Douglas, might have easily penetrated much farther into England. But, the primary object of their expedition, was already accomplished. No sooner did the English army before Berwick, receive the news of the invasion of Yorkshire, and of the terrible ravage and slaughter

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ter with which the invaders pursued their course; SECT. I.  
CH. VIII. than all the northern Barons became impatient to return home, for the protection of their own estates. Edward could by no effort of authority or persuasion, detain them. The remainder of his army was insufficient to urge the siege; and to guard, at the same time, against any sudden attack, which the Scots, from without, might make upon his camp. He relinquished the siege of Berwick; and The siege  
of Ber-  
wick rais-  
ed. marched to intercept the return of Douglas and Randolph, with their triumphant army. They eluded his vigilance, and arrived safe at home; where they were received with the fondest congratulations of their King and their fellow-countrymen\*.

THUS defeated in every enterprize; and humbled continually more and more, even in his own eyes, and in the eyes of both his friends and his enemies; Edward was, at length, reluctantly compelled to forego his hopes of reconquering Scotland. A negotiation for peace, was opened between the Scots and the English. The Scots, after all their A truce  
concluded,  
Dec. 21.  
1319. successes, desired from their enemies, nothing but peace, and the formal acknowledgement of the independency of their kingdom, and of the sovereign

\* Barbour, Book XVII:—Leland I. 462:—Walsing.  
111, 112.

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reign dignity of the monarch of their choice. Commissioners mutually appointed for the purpose of a final pacification, concluded a treaty of truce only; and this to subsist but for the short period of two years; on the twenty-first day of December, in the year one thousand three hundred and nineteen\*.

The Papal Legates enter Scotland; and publish two sentences of excommunication.

UPON this happy event, the Papal Legates obtained that admission into the Scottish territories, which had been, for some time, indignantly refused to them and their messengers, on account of their ungenerous partiality in favour of the English King. Their first official act was, to publish those sentences of excommunication which had been pronounced from Rome, *first* against the murderers of Comyn, and *afterwards*, against Bruce and the Scots in general, when they refused to acquiesce in that truce which the Pope had, in vain enjoined between them and the English. By the expedient of prohibiting the Papal Legates from entering the kingdom, the Scots had hitherto avoided the effects of the Pontiff's curses. But, it was now necessary for them, to submit to the authority of the Holy Father, that they might be again received into the bosom of the Catholic Church. It was more in consequence of misrepresentations

\* Fœdera, Tom. III. 816:—Barbour, Book XIX.

presentations alledged against them by the English, <sup>SECT. I.</sup> than out of any inclination to treat them with un- <sup>CU VIII.</sup>just rigour, that the Pope had been excited to explode his spiritual artillery against the Scots. Little else was requisite, therefore, to pacify the irritated Court of Rome, than that the Scots should again seek its favour; and should hear its censures with filial reverence; while they might, at the same time, shew themselves ready to remonstrate, with sufficient spirit and energy, against error or injustice\*.

IN this policy, the Scottish Barons, with the inferior freeholders, convening at Aberbrothwick, soon after the arrival of the Legates, endeavoured to soothe and avert the anger of the Pope, by a letter of apology and remonstrance. This letter <sup>Epistle of remonstrance, from the Scottish nation to the Pope.</sup> has been, fortunately, preserved; and is one of the most honourable monuments of the nation and the Age to which it belongs. The wisdom and manliness of its sentiments, are worthy of those illustrious heroes and patriots by whom it was subscribed. In it, they humbly represented to the successor of St Peter; That, the glory of the Scots, and the fame of their invincible valour, displayed in all their migrations from east to west, and in every variety of fortune, were co-eval with the earliest

\* Fœdera III. 797. 810 :—Fordun. LXIII. C. 1.

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earliest annals of mankind, and illustrious in the records of every age : That, since the first propagation of Christianity, they had ever been among the most distinguished children of the Church ; having been converted from paganism, by no less a person, than the Apostle Andrew, the brother of St Peter ; and having been cherished with the peculiar favour of all former Pontiffs : That, the Scottish monarchy, above all others, had ever enjoyed sacred, unquestioned freedom and independence ; till the ambitious Edward, wickedly attempted, by fraud and violence, to subjugate it ; and desolated their land with sacrilege and cruelties, of unheard-of and unspeakable atrocity : That, Robert Bruce, like another Joshua or Judas Maccabæus, had, under God, delivered them from the usurped domination of the English tyrant, by the persevering exertion of incredible fortitude and valour ; and had therefore been established on the throne, not more by right of inheritance, than by the ardent and unanimous gratitude of his country : That, should even this heroic and beloved Prince propose to submit himself and his nation to the English ; then would his subjects, with one accord, hurl him from the throne : That, while but an hundred Scots survived, they never would become the slaves of England ; contending as they did, not for glory, wealth, or power, but for liberty ; they were resolved, every one, to pursue the contest

test unto death: That, it became the Pope, the SECT. I.  
CH. VIII. common father of all Christendom, the vicegerent of the Prince of peace, to admonish and persuade the King of England to content him self with his own dominions, and to leave his poor Scottish neighbours in peace; since *they* were willing to agree to any terms of peace with *him*, which should leave their independence and liberties entire: That, the Scots and their King, if secured against the hostility of the English, were willing immediately to assume the cross, and to repair, in devout and martial pilgrimage, to the Holy Land, to rescue Palestine from the profane incroachments of the Infidels: But, that, the English King, however pretendedly impatient to engage in a crusade, was detained from it, not by the turbulence of his neighbours, but by his own unjust and grasping ambition, and by his absolute indifference to the interests of religion: That, upon all these considerations, if the Holy Father should still continue to favour the cause of the English with unjust partiality; and to aid and encourage them in their criminally ambitious attempts against the liberties of the Scots; then would the Scots regard the Pontiff himself, as guilty in the sight of God, of all the bloodshed, the loss of lives, and the perdition of souls, which must be occasioned by the continued prosecution of this war; and they would trust in God alone, to inspire them with courage,

SECT. I. to grant success to their struggles, and to bring  
 CH. VIII. their enemies to nought\*.

SUCH was the bold and manly language in which these magnanimous patriots dared to address a throne which was at this time, exalted upon the necks of Kings. They knew to resist as well the domination of priestcraft and superstition, as the ambitious fury of military conquest. The same ardent energy with which they fought in the field, seems to have, at this time, pervaded all their sentiments and conduct. Injustice and oppression had so probed their feelings to the quick, that they were awakened to reason and decide concerning their rights and duties, with a rectitude of intelligence, greatly above the level of the Age in which they lived. Nor could the most profound policy have dictated any thing wiser, in the circumstances in which they stood. A man guilty of a sacrilegious murder had been made their King; from Rome, they had been loaded with one censure, and with one sentence of excommunication, after another; both clergy and laity had been, for some time, in open rebellion against the Holy See. But, they were situate on the very verge of the Papal empire, and so detached from  
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\* Fordun. L. XII. C. 2 and 3:—Anderson's Diplomata, No. 51, 52.—See in the Appendix to this volume, a copy, and a translation of this letter.

the interior parts of Europe, that, the arm of Pa-<sup>SECT. I.</sup>  
pal power could not always reach them, with any <sup>CH. VIII.</sup> considerable efficacy: it could not be forgotten, that the Scots had long been Christians, before they acknowledged the universal authority of the Bishop of Rome: the Clergy being, in the present instance, unanimous with the Laity; it became, by consequence, extremely difficult for the Pope, to enforce the execution of any violent sentence against the Scottish nation. The Scottish remon-<sup>Effect of</sup>  
strance, therefore, failed not of its effect, when re-<sup>the epistle.</sup>ceived at the Court of Rome. The Pontiff suffered his wrath to be gradually appeased: and he was even induced to address his admonitions to peace, to the English King; in language implying his persuasion, that the English were perhaps more guilty, than the Scots, of all the calamities of their long mutual wars. It is indeed, not impossible, but the Scots might accompany their epistle, with some other things, which they knew to be more successfully persuasive at the Romish Court, than right or argument\*.

BUT, who shall assure us that the hero, or the Imperfec-  
sage of this day, will be wise or brave, to-mor-<sup>tion of so-</sup>  
row? Men, even any two men, are never united <sup>cial vir-</sup>  
with full cordiality of affection, unless in some pas-<sup>tue.</sup>

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sing

\* Fœdera III. 846.



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sing moments of common and extreme danger, of overflowing joy, or of overwhelming grief. We may combine to oppose a common enemy, or to provide against a common evil; but no sooner is the enemy overcome, and the evil dispelled or evaded, than the principles of selfishness or malignity, which are ever awake in our hearts, divide us against one another, rather than cease to rankle in our bosoms. As virtues and vices are ever mingled strangely together in the same human character; so, in every assemblage of men, however seemingly select, the coward and the hero, the simpleton and the sage, the patriot and the traitor, are still found to be casually associated; whenever they are brought, all, into that action which develops the springs of character.

A conspiracy against the life of Bruce discovered, and punished.

A. D.  
1320.

HARDLY had the above national deed been solemnly executed and transmitted to Rome; when it was discovered, that a formidable conspiracy had been entered into, against the life of Bruce; in the guilt of which, not a few of the brave comrades of his wars, were deeply involved. Men whose faith had been honourably tried in perils and misfortunes, became traitors, when the common danger and difficulties were almost wholly surmounted. Even among those illustrious patriots, who had saved their country from foreign thralldom, there were intermixed some persons, ungenerous,

ungenerous, false, and base. In the distribution of the rewards which he now had to bestow, Bruce could not gratify one, without disappointing more; nor was it possible that he and his confidential counsellors should always form the same estimate of every one's merits and services, which the claimant himself formed in his own breast. In the course of the war, many of the Scottish warriors had possessed themselves of estates, by recovering them from the English: And these men still wished to continue in possession of what they had thus acquired, in defiance of the claims of the ancient owners. Of the Nobles who had from the beginning of the contest, attached themselves to the English interests, there were several distinguished individuals who had not yet reconciled themselves to their country: And these men, although residing in England, in the service of Edward, found means to foment dissensions among their ancient friends in Scotland. This conspiracy, into which such a variety of motives had concurred to impel those who were accomplices in it, began to discover itself, amidst the deliberations in the parliament, by the refractory spirit with which the Barons opposed several measures suggested by the King, for the settlement of order and property. From the loyalty, or the indiscretion of the Countess of Strathern, one of the accomplices, it was soon after revealed to the King, that those  
who

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CH. VIII.

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who had openly murmured against his government, were engaged in a secret conspiracy against his life. He learned with astonishment and horror, that not a few, but many of his most illustrious Knights, were among the conspirators; and that some even of his dearest friends, were privy to their guilty purpose, although not actually partners in it. William Soulis, the grandson, as it should seem, of one of the competitors who had contended with Balliol and the grandfather of Bruce, for the royal succession, was the leader in this conspiracy: And there is reason to suspect, that one of its principal objects, was, to make way for Soulis's accession to the Scottish throne, by the murder of Robert Bruce. With Soulis, and the Countess of Strathern, Gilbert Malherbe, John de Logie, and Richard Brown, were convicted of this conspiracy. Soulis, and the Countess, notwithstanding her discovery, were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Malherbe, Logie, and Brown, were executed, as traitors. David de Brechin, nephew to the King, convicted of being privy to the plot, although he had taken no actual part in it, suffered the same fate. Eustace de Maxwell, Walter de Barclay, Patrick de Graham, Hamme-lin de Troup, and Eustace de Rattray were tried, but acquitted. It is probable, that the guilt of the conspiracy, might extend much wider, than merely to those who were convicted and punished. Bruce himself,

himself, who had exercised and experienced the most illustrious constancy of attachment, in the series of his first wars, must have felt his heart cruelly wounded by the discovery of this treason. He was not of a blood-thirsty, tyrannical nature; and therefore, must have inflicted with painful reluctance, those severities which its suppression demanded. They struck a general terror into the breasts of those turbulent warriors, by whom he was surrounded; but, they appear to have, at the same time, contributed to abate in some degree, from that fond affection with which he had been hitherto regarded by the greater part of his subjects. Transactions so mournful, and so ungrateful to be remembered, have been recorded imperfectly, and with a seeming unwillingness in the annals of our national history. The events have been mentioned; but almost all that detail of circumstances, which might have rendered them instructive, has been mysteriously withheld\*.

IN the mean time, the period of two years, for which the truce with the English had been concluded, was fast elapsing. But, the minds of both nations, were still mutually too much exasperated, to permit the mediation of the Pope, or the King of France, to persuade them to a final peace. Edward

SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.

The truce expires; and the war between the Scots and the English, is renewed.

\* Barbour, Book XIX:—Fordun. XIII. 1.

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ward flattered himself, that the state of his affairs might now at length enable him to renew the war with sure success; and Bruce, well knowing how to frustrate an invasion of his dominions, was little concerned, as to any farther attempts which the English might make against him. With little success probably, Edward again endeavoured by the intermediation of some Scotchmen in his service, to seduce Bruce's subjects from their allegiance: But, in the mean time, one of his own most powerful vassals, the Earl of Lancaster; who had been hitherto the perpetual enemy of his tranquillity and power; courted the favour of the Scots, entered into a traitorous correspondence with Bruce, and rose in rebellion against his own King. With this advantage against their enemy, the Scots scarcely suffered the term of the truce to expire, before they again invaded Northumberland and the Bishoprick of Durham. Douglas had entered England; Randolph, with another force, was upon the frontier, ready to follow the career and second the exertions of Douglas's army. Lancaster was in arms; and anxiously expected the approach of the Scots, to assist him, against his Sovereign. But, while the Scots delayed to join him; and he himself, half expecting, half hopeless of their aid, wavered in his counsels; he was overtaken, worsted, and made prisoner by Edward's General, Andrew de Harclaw; and Edward had the pleasure of condemning

condemning that great rebel, who been so eminently the author of the troubles of his reign, to expiate his criminal ambition, under the axe of the executioner. The Scots having thus lost one favourable opportunity of prosecuting the war, with singular advantage, returned back for a time, into their own territories. Edward, flushed with the success by which he had at last accomplished the fall of Lancaster, mustered another army, and again prepared to invade Scotland with all the confidence of anticipated victory. The bold activity of the Scots, yet again prevented his movements. They poured suddenly into the western counties of England; and penetrating into Lancashire; rapidly spoiled that district; and ere Edward could meet or intercept them, returned safely home, with an immense booty\*.

At length, the English army began its march. A fleet with provisions, attended its progress, along the eastern coast. Edward entered the Scottish frontiers; but no enemy appeared, to oppose his career. He advanced; and still found all the land before him, silent and deserted of both man and beast. From the spoilation of the religious houses, he, as yet, kept back his soldiers. Every where else, the country was waste and desolate. A lame bull

\* H. Knyghton 25. 39:—Fædera, Tom. III. 927:—Walsing. 116.

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bull seized near Tranent, was the only prize left to the invaders. They continued their march, as far as Edinburgh; still without meeting an enemy; and without finding any thing in the country, by the waste of which they might either profit themselves, or annoy the Scots. Their provisions were, by this time, wholly consumed; and Edward was therefore again obliged to turn back, and conduct his army homewards; out of a country of which the inhabitants still triumphed over his attempts to enslave them, whether they met him in pitched battle, or retiring to their fastnesses left the scowling elements, and the miseries of famine, to fight more surely for them, than they could have fought for themselves. The soldiers, and the followers of the English army, furious from want and baffled revenge, plundered the Abbies of Holyrood, and Melrose; burnt that of Dryburgh, to the ground, as well as various cells and churches; slew several unoffending ecclesiastics; and sacrilegiously violated the most holy things pertaining to religious worship. Many of them, after their return home, perished by diseases; the effects probably of fatigue and of alternate famine and intemperance; but, which the superstition of the age taught the Scottish clergy to regard, as the vengeance of heaven, conspicuously inflicted on a crowd of wretches whose hands were polluted with sacrilege\*.

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\* Barbour, Book XVIII:—Ford. L. XIII. C. 4:—Walsing. 117.

It was not fear, but cautious wisdom, that had withheld the Scottish King from risking the fate of his kingdom upon the event of a single battle. He had, in the mean time, after directing all the cattle to be driven from the southern districts, to the farther side of the Forth; assembled his vassals, and encamped them at Culrofs, to await the progress of the invaders into a territory through which it was scarcely possible, that they should force their way, in spite of all opposition;—or the failure of their enterprize, before they should have advanced nearly so far. No sooner were the disasters, and the ignominious retreat of the English, known to Bruce, than he followed hard after them, with all the military force of his kingdom. Edward was at the abbey of Byland in Yorkshire, taking measures for the defence of his frontier, when Bruce, with his army, appeared before the castle of Norham. By a sudden enterprize, the Scots attempted to surprize the English King in his quarters; and he, with difficulty, escaped to York; abandoning to the assailants, his treasure and baggage. Douglas and Randolph, with a detachment of the Scottish army, undertook to force the English camp, on that side on which it seemed to be the most easily accessible. The English Knights made a valiant resistance. Notwithstanding every effort of the Scots, the contest was for a while doubtfully prolonged. Bruce, at last, sent

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CH. VIII.

The English pursued into England; and routed at Byland.

A. D.  
1322.



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some bands of his light-armed soldiers, Highlanders and Hebudians, to climb the height on which the English camp was seated. Their success determined the fate of the battle. A general rout of the English, ensued. The Scots urged the pursuit to the gates of the city of York. They remained masters of the English camp. Many noble prisoners from among the English, fell into their hands. They continued, after this, for a considerable time in Yorkshire; and ravaged all the country around; or compelled those of its inhabitants who were spared, to buy their safety, by the payment of heavy contributions\*.

EDWARD found a melancholy consolation for this recent disgrace and misfortune, in the conviction and punishment of Andrew de Harclaw, Earl of Carlisle; who had entered, some time before, into a secret and traitorous correspondence with the King of the Scots; the object of which, appears to have been, to compel Edward to agree to a peace with the Scots, upon such terms, as Bruce and Harclaw should, in concert, dictate to him. By the mediation of some of the noble English prisoners, who had lately fallen into the hands of the Scots, a new truce was, about the same time negotiated between the two Monarchs, to endure for

Another  
truce.

\* Barbour, B. XVIII:—Fœdera III. 975. 978.

for the term of three years. It provided for the preservation of the meeting borders of the two kingdoms, in the same unfortified condition, in which they lay, at the time when the truce was agreed upon. It left the Scots, at liberty to reconcile themselves to the Court of Rome, so far as this reconciliation could be promoted or hindered by the formal consent, or the formal prohibition of the King of England. But, Edward, tenacious of name and form, when the substance of dominion was hopelessly lost, would not yet yield to Bruce, the title of *King of the Scots*. Nor would he yet, consent to such a permanent peace, as might imply, that he, for ever relinquished all designs against the independency of the Scottish nation\*.

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1323.

Thus at rest, for a time, on the side of England. Bruce and his subjects renewed their negotiations with the Papal Court. Although the Pope had lately discovered, if not any great kindness towards the Scots, yet at least, a prudent reluctance to enforce the spiritual sentences of punishment, which had been, perhaps unavoidably pronounced against them; those sentences, nevertheless, still hung over their heads; and whenever the temporal miseries of famine, massacre, and slavery were overcome,

\* Fœdera III. 983. 988. 999. 1000. 1003.

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CH. VIII.



Randolph  
sent am  
bassador  
to the Pa-  
pal Court.

overcome, or evaded; the terrors of the Pope's spiritual artillery, then began to press upon their minds; and the force of its assault, to be felt by them, with trembling horror. Randolph was dispatched to Avignon, the occasional seat of the Papal Court, to supplicate for his fellow-countrymen, a renewal of the paternal favour and regard of the Holy Pontiff. In obedience to the instructions of his Sovereign; by the suggestions of his own prudence; or in compliance with the advice of friends who knew the temper of the Pope and his ministers: Randolph first solicited for himself, permission to repair, in military pilgrimage, to the Holy Land; before daring to represent any thing concerning the public affairs of his nation. The request, although not instantly granted, was, however, not ungraciously received. A communion arose, upon it, in the course of which, Randolph was encouraged to assume, in some sort, the character of Ambassador from his Sovereign. Then skilfully intermingling professions of humble submission, scruples, promises, and insinuated threats; he gradually soothed all the remaining resentment of his Holiness, against the excommunicated Scots; and at last persuaded him to address a bull to Bruce, by the title of *King*. This was a triumph of artful and masterly policy, not less honourable to Randolph, or less grateful to his Sovereign, than any of his most illustrious, milita-

ry exploits. The Pope, thus far reconciled to the Scots, again interposed his good offices to procure a lasting peace between them, and their potent neighbours. Edward, however indignant at the discovery, that the title of his rival, had been, at last, recognized by the Papal Court, was, nevertheless, obliged to content himself with fruitless complaints; and was even induced, at length, by the exigencies of his affairs, and by the urgent exhortations of the Holy Pontiff, to open new negotiations for the final settlement of tranquility and peaceful intercourse between the Scots and English, as two independent nations\*.

SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.

Negotiations for a final peace

YORK was the city in which the commissioners of the two nations met, to negotiate the intended treaty. The negotiations were for a while fruitlessly protracted. The Scots would not surrender their dearly recovered possessions, or consent to tarnish, by mean submission, the glory of their victories: nor were the English, as yet, cordially willing to resign the nominal sovereignty of Scotland. The conferences between the commissioners, were broken up, without having contributed, in any degree, to the accomplishment of the desirable purpose, for which they had been opened†.

A. D.  
1324

ALMOST

\* Fœdera IV. 28, 29. 46.

† Fœdera IV. 70. 141, &c.

SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.



Birth of  
David  
Bruce, and  
other do-  
mestic  
events.

ALMOST every successive event, however, served to confirm the royal power and honours of Bruce, and the independency of the Scots. The amity between the Scottish nation and the King of France, had been happily renewed by an embassy from Scotland, to the French Court, about the time when the anger of the Pope, was so skilfully deprecated by Randolph. A son was now born to Bruce; to whom he gave the name of DAVID; and whose birth was an event singularly joyful, both to his father, and to the whole nation; because the King had now no other child surviving; and because this event gave to the Scots the lives of two infants, instead of the life of only one, which they possessed before, as sureties to preserve them from the miseries of a disputed and uncertain succession to the throne of their kingdom. Soon after the birth of young David Bruce, the King convoked his vassals to a parliament, at Cambuskenneth: They did homage to his son, as the apparent heir to his dominions: And young Robert Stewart, the son of the King's deceased daughter, Marjory Bruce, was declared to be now removed, by the birth of David Bruce, to the second rank in the order of the regal succession. Amidst these transactions, the sister of the King, the widow of Christopher Seaton, was given in marriage to Andrew Moray, the son of the brave Andrew Moray of Bothwell, the companion

companion of Wallace, and who fell in the glorious battle of Stirling. This marriage served to strengthen the house of Bruce, by adding another brave and illustrious Baron to the number of those who were, by affinity, related to it. But, that house lost at the same time, one of its most gallant defenders, and most distinguished ornaments, by the death of Walter, the father of young Robert Stewart : He died in the prime of his life ; after having displayed a wisdom, and a heroism, which had encouraged his country to conceive the most sanguine hopes of his maturer years : His loss was deeply and universally lamented\*.

BEFORE the expiration of the truce, Bruce was gratified by the news of the fall of his rival and oppressor, Edward, the Second, King of England. From his very accession to the throne, his continual follies and misfortunes had rendered him contemptible in the eyes of his own subjects : His reign had been divided between intestine contests with his own Barons, and the unfortunate series of his wars with the Scots : One unworthy favourite after another, had still engrossed his affection, and perverted his counsels, till at last even his wife and his eldest son were moved to take up arms against him. They soon prevailed : He was compelled to resign

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CH. VIII.

Edward of  
England,  
deposed,  
and murdered.

\* Fordun. XIII. 5. 12 :—Barbour, Book XIX.

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reſign the Crown to his ſon ; and by the guilty contrivance of his wife and her paramour Mortimer, was ſoon after, inhumanly murdered. The diſſentions of his enemies, and the proſpect of the government of a boy, a woman, and an adulterous minion, might gratify Bruce with the hopes of uninterrupted peace, or certain victory in his future intercourse with the Engliſh\*.

The war  
renewed  
by an in-  
vaſion of  
England.

WHATEVER his views or motives, he failed not to take advantage of his own growing ſtrength and their calamities ; and he is ſaid to have violated the truce, which had not yet expired, by a ſudden irruption into the Engliſh territories, about the time of the death of Edward the Second. The ſeizure of ſome Scottiſh veſſels bound to the coaſt of Flanders, by Engliſh ſhips of ſuperior force, perhaps excited the Scots to inſtant retaliation, or afforded them at leſt, a ſpecious pretext for the renewal of hoſtilities. Negotiations for a laſting treaty of peace, had, indeed been renewed by the new adminiſtration of the Engliſh government ; but, the ſudden invaſion which the Scots now prepared, might be intended to compel the Engliſh to an immediate acquieſcence in thoſe terms of mutual peace, to which the Scots were willing to agree. Before the Engliſh, whatever their diligence and  
I activity,

\* Fœdera IV. 243, &c.

activity, could muster an army for the defence of <sup>SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.</sup> their frontiers; Douglas and Randolph, at the head of nearly twenty thousand of those brave veterans, whom experience in all Bruce's wars, had made the most distinguished soldiers of their age; passed out of Annandale and Eskdale, into the bordering counties of England, and advanced onwards with a destroying and menacing career. Yet, Edward the Third, had with extraordinary promptitude, summoned his military vassals, hired German mercenaries, mustered an army of more than fifty thousand men, and marched northwards with this great force, as far as to Durham, ere the Scots could penetrate into Lancashire, or Yorkshire. The Scots were not aware of the approach of so formidable an army, to oppose them; or they perhaps disdained to retire before enemies, whose courage, discipline, and conduct, were now, in comparison with their own, extremely contemptible in their eyes. Bruce himself was absent; and even Randolph and Douglas, although military commanders almost unequalled in wisdom and sagacity, as well as in valour; had their ardour less happily tempered by cool and steady caution, than was the heroism in the soul of their King\*.

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IN

\* Barbour, B. XIX:—Fædera IV. 281. 287. 290;—  
Fordun, XII. 12:—Froissart I. 16.



SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.



The Eng-  
lish strive  
to inter-  
cept the  
Scots.

IN these relative circumstances, the English were encouraged to flatter themselves, that they might, without great difficulty, circumvent and cut off the inferior force of the Scots. They descried from afar, the smoke ascending from the fires in the Scottish camp, or from the conflagrations with which the spoilers desolated the country. Perceiving by this indication, that the Scots had proceeded to some distance southward beyond the river Tyne; the English leaders hastily directed the march of their army to the banks of this river; hoping to reach it, before the enemy should have repassed its stream, and there, to destroy, or make them prisoners. They marched with extraordinary quickness, and by very difficult ways, to Haidon on the banks of this river. The stream was there so much swollen by recent rains, that, although the cavalry readily crossed it, the infantry could not follow. After some delay, in anxiety, uncertainty, and impatience, the whole army changed the direction of their march, and began to return southward, still in pursuit of the Scots. But, the movements and designs of the enemy were absolutely unknown to Edward's army. A number of both Knights and Esquires were incited by the proclamation of a reward from the King, for the first news of the invaders; to set out singly, in order to descry the position of the Scottish army, and bring this wished-for intelligence. On the fourth

fourth day after the return from the banks of the Tyne, Thomas Rokesby, an Esquire, brought notice, that, while wandering about, in search of the Scots, he had been made prisoner by them; but had been dismissed to carry the news to his friends; as soon as the Scots learned from him, that the English were in quest of them, and eager to give them battle.

THE Scots having encamped on advantageous ground which had in front, the river Were, and was defended on the other sides by precipitous rocks, had there for eight days awaited the approach of the enemy; because, although willing to fight, they did not desire to fight, without employing every possible precaution of soldierly conduct, in order, beforehand, to assure themselves of victory. They wished to be attacked in their camp; not to rush, in disorder, against the hostile army, upon equal ground. The English eagerly followed Rokesby, as their guide, till they came within sight of the Scottish camp. It was impregnable, and inaccessible. Edward in vain endeavoured, by the courtesy of a knightly challenge, and by every artifice of provocation, to draw Douglas and Randolph, from the unassailable position, from which they defied his approach, with all his numerous host. Should he retire before them? they would, no doubt, sally instantly forth, and soon drive his retreat into total confusion and flight. Yet, since the English had the command

of

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of the open country, and were sufficiently numerous, to invest the Scottish camp; it appeared probable, that the Scots might, within no long time, be more surely conquered by famine, and a blockade, than if they could have been drawn into equal combat.

Skilful-  
manœuvres  
of  
Douglas  
and Ran-  
dolph.

THE Scots were too circumspect and vigilant, not to be aware of their danger. On the morning of the third day, after the English had posted themselves in front of the Scottish camp, the former with astonishment perceived, that their enemies had decamped during the night, and had escaped thus out of their hands. It was soon after discovered, that the Scots had moved only two miles farther up the bank of the river Were; and had there again encamped, in the middle of a wood, and in a position still stronger than that which they had, at first, occupied. The English commanders led their forces after, and soon placed their camp near to the Scots, as before; and now, upon the same side of the river. Notwithstanding the gallantry, the discipline, the fortitude, and the abstinence of the Scots; it seemed now to be hardly possible for them to escape out of the hands of the English, without a battle, or to fight against such odds, with hopes of victory.

IN these difficulties, Douglas was induced to try a nocturnal enterprize against the English camp. A chosen band accompanied him. They  
passed

passed, without discovery or opposition, into the midst of the hostile tents ; then, raising a shout of tremendous rage ; began a desperate slaughter of their foes. The person of the young English King, was the prize they sought. To his tent, they quickly penetrated : But, while his chaplain, and other servants of his household, met their attack, and fell by their hands, Edward himself escaped, in the tumult. Thus terrible, and successful, yet disappointed of his chief purpose ; Douglas now hewed his way through the midst of the awakened and alarmed English ; and led his brave followers back into the Scottish camp. By this enterprize, however, the confidence of the Scots, in their own valour, was confirmed ; the ardour of the English soldiers, was confounded and repressed ; the Scots acquired in the estimation of themselves and their enemies, a sort of superiority, which made them, in some degree, masters, either to give battle, or to retire safely, at their pleasure.

ON the following day, orders were given out by the Scottish commanders, that all their troops should hold themselves in readiness to follow Douglas upon another enterprize, in the approaching night. These orders were made known to the English, by a prisoner who fell into their hands, in the course of the day. No longer suspecting the Scots of intentions of flight ; they concluded, that the new enterprize meditated, must be a general assault

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The Scots  
retire.

Dis-  
pointment  
and grief  
of the Eng-  
lish King.

fault upon their camp. When night came on, therefore, they kindled up blazing fires; set a strong watch round their tents, and rested under their arms. All night, they anxiously kept watch; expecting every moment the alarm, that the Scots were upon them. When morning came, they quickly understood, with surprize and shame; that the Scots had indeed left their camp, in the night; but, that, instead of coming to assail the English camp, they had turned their march homewards, and were now almost beyond the reach of pursuit. So very differently had the English conceived of the valour and indiscretion of their daring, yet wary enemies; that they could not, for a while, credit this news. They left their tents, but stood for some hours in order of battle; not daring to advance; but still expecting to see the Scots, on one side or another, behind or before; rise against them, out of ambush; or come upon them by some circuitous march. When the retreat of the Scots, could no longer be doubted; the sort of fearful expectation with which the English had awaited their attack, was suddenly changed for the indignant anger, or perhaps with some, the insolent bullying, of outwitted, disappointed valour. Young Edward; who even now began to give hopes, that he would prove a King more like to his grandfather, than to his father; wept bitterly, when he perceived his enemies to have thus escaped out of his

his hands ; and saw the design of his expedition to be thus almost wholly frustrated.

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AN extensive morass, impassable by cavalry, now parted the van of the English army from the Scottish rear. Pursuit would have been dangerous and hopeless. The English army were worn out by the tedious, harrassing service in which they had been engaged. Being so much more numerous than the Scots, and in the middle of a desolated country, they began to suffer by the same famine, by means of which they had thought to vanquish their enemies. Douglas and Randolph led their forces home in glory and safety. The English, out of curiosity, rather than in the hope of finding any rich booty ; entered the camp which the Scots had deserted ; and found in it nothing, but some of those leathern bags in which the Scottish foldiers were accustomed to carry their corn or meal ; some of the gridirons which they used in roasting their cakes ; some vessels made of raw hides, in which they had seethed their flesh ; some thousands of *brogues*, made of raw hides and stitched with thongs, which were the only coverings the Scots in general had for their feet ; and some English prisoners, having their legs broken, and being stripped naked, and bound to trees. Every thing they saw, served to convince them, that their design to starve into surrender, an army so savagely abstinent and hardy, had been the extravagance of error and folly ;

and

Emptiness  
of the  
Scottish  
camp.

SECT. I. and that to renew the pursuit of the Scots, would  
 CH. VIII. be, to rush upon destruction\*.

Judgment  
 of the mi-  
 litary con-  
 duct of the  
 Scottish  
 leaders,  
 upon this  
 occasion.

THIS extrication of their army out of extreme danger, and the boldness and safety of their retreat, were indeed peculiarly glorious to Randolph and Douglas. To the English commanders it was highly disgraceful; to have brought northward, so mighty an army of Englishmen and foreign mercenaries, for the chastisement of invaders, to a contemptible degree inferior in numbers and martial equipment; and yet, to have been foiled of their purpose, in a manner that tended still to augment the strength, and to heighten the insolence of their enemies. But, it cannot be denied, that the Scots had acted with imprudence and temerity unworthy of their military experience; when they proceeded so far into England, in the face of an hostile army, the force and designs of which could not be distinctly known to them; and when, instead of retreating as soon as they had spoiled the country, and knew that the English were waiting, to intercept their return; they, with so much foolhardiness, encamped to await the approach of their enemies, and defied them to battle. However masterly the generalship, by which so successful a retreat was, at last accomplished; yet, but for some

I

lucky

\* Barbour, B. XIX :—Froissart I. 17. 19, 20. 22, &c.

lucky incidents which arose independently of the vigilance and precautions of the Scots ; and but for the confusion and imbecility in the counsels of the English ; all the ability of Randolph and Douglas, must have failed to deliver them out of the danger into which they had too rashly pressed.

SCARCELY had Douglas and Randolph returned home in triumph, when their King assembled all his forces, and again invaded the English borders. It was necessary to harass the English with incessant hostilities, until they should be reduced to accept peace on the condition of their acknowledging the independence of the Scottish monarchy. With one division of his forces, the King himself invested the castle of Norham : Douglas and Randolph, with another division, were detached to besiege the castle of Alnwick. A third was employed to scour the country, and to bring in, from time to time, provisions and intelligence. After some first efforts which convinced them, that they had not forces, stores, and military engines, sufficient to enable them, to overcome the resistance of the garrison ; Douglas and Randolph desisted from the siege of Alnwick-Castle, and rejoined the King, before that of Norham. Bruce, although this castle still continued to hold out against his assaults, persisted in the siege ; until, by the offers of such concessions on the part of England,

SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.

Another  
invasion of  
England.

A. D.  
1327.



SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.

land, as should fully satisfy all his wishes, in a lasting peace; he was induced to pause from hostilities, and to return home, that the terms of pacification between the two nations, might be finally adjusted\*.

Reasons  
urging the  
English to  
Peace.

ISABELLA, the widow of Edward the Second of England, and Mortimer, her favourite, held, at this time, the reins of the English government. But, the crimes by which they had deprived Edward the Second of his crown and life, had already made their sway not less odious than that of the murdered Monarch, to the English Barons. Young Edward was still in pupilage to his mother and Mortimer: He had not yet wisdom or energy to direct the administration of the royal power: Nor could even the fair hopes of his youth, acquire the requisite popularity to a queen, the murderers of her husband, and to the minion whom she admitted to her unchaste bed. The ill-fortune of the last expedition against the Scots, had exhausted the resources of this abhorred administration, and had, almost wholly unbraced the nerves of their authority. To the renewed invasion of the Scots, they had no forces, to oppose; or at least none in whose obedience and fidelity, they could confide. The contest for the dominion of Scotland, had been, in truth,

\* Barbour, Book XX.

truth, finally decided by the battle of Bannock-<sup>SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.</sup>burn ; although the mutual and inveterate animosities of the two nations ; and especially the unwillingness of the English to own their weakness, and to sit down patient under their disgrace ; had, for so many subsequent years, prolonged the war. Should the Scots, at length, succeed in the conquest of the castles which guarded the English frontier ; they might soon divide, perhaps for ever, from the dominions of England, those northern provinces, which they had long ravaged with unsparing fury. Should the English Barons rise in arms, against the government of Isabella and Mortimer ; the alliance of the King of the Scots, would readily ensure them success in their purposes. Pressed by these difficulties, the English rulers saw themselves, at last, under the necessity of asking peace from the Scottish Monarch, upon his own terms. After the Scottish forces were withdrawn from before Norham, the negotiations for peace, were prosecuted with the utmost earnestness, and mutual candour\*.

It was while he remained before Norham, that William de Denoun came to propose to Bruce, a marriage between his only son David Bruce, and Jane the eldest sister of the young King of England ;

\* Scala Chronica, apud Leland I. 551, &c.

SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.

A. D.  
1324.

land; as the fundamental condition, on which Edward, with his tutors and counsellors, were desirous to conclude an alliance with the Scots. Bruce heard the proposal with a willing ear. A truce afforded time for the necessary negotiations. Plenipotentiary Commissioners from the two Kings; meeting by appointment, at Newcastle; settled, after no long discussion, the preliminary articles of the intended pacification and alliance. Edward then convoked his Parliament, at York, solemnly renounced, with their consent, all the claims of his Crown, to the sovereignty of Scotland; restored to the Scottish Monarchy, for as much as in him lay, all its rights of dominion and independency, which it had enjoyed at the death of Alexander the Third; and formally resigned the benefit of all written deeds, by which any authority over the King or the people of Scotland, might have been yielded to the Crown of England. After the English King, with the consent of his Parliament, had thus conceded the only grand condition of peace on which the Scots inflexibly insisted; there remained little more to be done for the compleat restoration of tranquillity, except the formal ratification of the treaty, in that detail which must necessarily proceed from the application of the fundamental articles to particular circumstances. It was finally ratified, at Northampton, in the month of April,

in

in the year one thousand three hundred and twenty eight\*.

SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.  


IN this treaty, it was stipulated for the two nations, by their Monarchs: That there should be henceforth perpetual peace between them: That the sacred stone, on which the Scottish Kings had been wont to be seated at their coronation, and which had been carried away by the English, should be restored to the Scots: That, the King of England should interpose his good offices towards the full reconciliation of the Scottish King and his subjects, to the Holy See: That, in compensation for these favours, and for the devastation which the Scots had spread through the northern districts of England; the King of the Scots should pay to the English King, the sum of thirty thousand merks, in three annual payments of ten thousand merks each: That those possessions which had been wrested, during the war, from the Clergy of either kingdom, should be restored; and the damages which ecclesiastical persons had sustained, fully compensated: That, in general, the estates possessed by English subjects in Scotland, before the war, and in the course of it, forfeited to the Scottish King; and in the same manner, estates possessed

\* ForJera IV. 328. 337:—A. Murimuth 72:—Barbour XX.

SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.

possessed by Scottish subjects in England, before the war, and in consequence of it, forfeited to the English King; should remain with the monarch to whom they had been respectively forfeited, without being, of necessity, to be restored to their original owners, in consequence of this treaty: That, in exception, nevertheless, from this last article, Thomas Wake, Henry de Beaumont, and Henry Piercy, English Lords, should be restored to their ancient possessions in Scotland: That Jane, sister to the King of England, should be given in marriage to David, the Scottish Prince: That a jointure of lands and rents, to the amount of two thousand pounds a year, should be secured to the English Princess, at her marriage to the heir of the Scottish Crown, for the support of her widowhood, if she should happen to survive her husband: That, either of the contracting parties failing to fulfil the conditions of this treaty, should, as the penalty for the failure, pay to the Pope, the sum of two thousand pounds of silver\*.

SUCH was the substance of this important and memorable treaty. Its reciprocal conditions appear to have been wise and advantageous, equally to

\* Fordun XIII. 12 :—Introduction to Calendar of Ancient Charters, P. 56. 58 :—Barbour, B. XX :—Fædera IV. 337. 350. 375. 384. 410. 464. 467.

to the Scots, and to the English. For its happy settlement, the two nations were indebted, not less to the prudent moderation of the Scottish Monarch, than to the weakness and the perplexities of the English administration. It formally closed a war of nearly forty years duration; which had remarkably called forth, all the latent energies in the character of the Scottish people; and had greatly exhausted the strength, depressed the courage, and tarnished the glory of the English.

It is not difficult to distinguish those primary causes, to which the success of the Scots, was owing, in this great struggle for their national liberties. From the beginning of their efforts under Wallace, the Scots fought for themselves,—for their national, and every one for his individual, existence; while the English fought, only for their King: And the genius, the force, and the resources of man, are always augmented in the proportion of the urgency of the motives by which he is impelled into action: Man degraded into a slave, obeying implicitly the will, and toiling for the sole benefit of another, has his powers and faculties benumbed, and becomes feeble and torpid: Master of himself, and contending to preserve this mastery, his frame is nerved with gigantic force, and his mind illuminated, at times, with angelic intelligence. In his own house, on his own domains, with-

SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.

in the boundaries of his native country, a man has always considerable advantages against the stranger who approaches him, as an enemy : The local resources of a country, are known to its inhabitants ; and always in a great measure unknown to invaders : All the habits of life familiar to the native, enable him to avail himself, much more, than a stranger can do, of whatever is peculiar in the circumstances of his country : There is a mysterious sympathy between the very inanimate mountains, dales, and woods of a territory, and its indigenuous possessors, which in an inexpressible manner, exalts the force and the resolution of men fighting in defence of their native land. The possessors of wild, barren, and inaccessible countries, have ever, like the Scots in the present instance, triumphed over the invasion of their richer neighbours who were the heirs of fairer regions ; because a country consisting of one chain of natural fortresses, is thus formed to bound the progress of conquest ; and because no conquering army can enter, or at least fix themselves in, territories in which they cannot find the necessaries for subsistence. Even before the commencement of this long war with England, the Scots possessed an extraordinary share of that savage energy of character ; which, in order to raise them to the highest military glory, wanted only to be tempered to discretion, and disciplined to firmness : That discretion, and this discipline,

cipline, they unavoidably acquired, in the course of a contest, so continuing, and so obstinate: SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.  
Their generals and their soldiers became, upon this, the most skilful, and the bravest of the Age. The progressive events and the final issue of this war, were likewise directed in no small degree by the relative personal characters of the different leaders who conducted it: Had Wallace not arisen, Edward the First might perhaps have established the dominion of the English over Scotland, so firmly, as to render it secure against all subsequent rebellion: Had John Balliol possessed the great qualities of Wallace, or of Bruce; Scotland might never have been subjected by the arms or the artifices of the English King: Had Edward the First survived for some years longer, in the full vigour of his strength and faculties; or if Edward the Second had happened to possess the abilities of his father, or of Bruce; it is probable, that the independence of the Scottish nation, could not have been restored. Such appear to have been the grand causes, upon the concurrence of which, depended the success of those efforts of the Scots, which were ultimately crowned by the treaty of Northampton.

ELIZABETH, the consort of the Scottish King, Death of  
Queen  
Elizabeth. lived not to see this termination of her husband's troubles; but died, on the twenty-sixth day of  
VOL. II. L I October,



SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.

October, in the year one thousand three hundred and twenty-seven; and was interred at Dunfermling; which had been, for some generations, the ordinary burying-place of the Kings and Queens of Scotland.—Within two months after the completion of the treaty of Northampton, young David Bruce received in marriage, as had been stipulated, Jane of England, the sister of Edward the Third.—Robert Bruce did not long survive these events. His health had been wasted by the perils, fatigues, and distresses to which he had been exposed in the course of his wars; and by an inveterate and incurable *leprosy*; a contagious distemper probably introduced into Europe, from the East, by soldiers returning from the crusades; and which was unhappily favoured in its ravages, by the uncomfortable lodging, the dirty clothing, and the unwholesome diet of the Scots of this Age. He died at Cardross, on the seventh day of June, in the year one thousand three hundred and twenty-nine, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, the twenty-fourth of his reign. His body was buried at Dunfermling, beside that of his lately deceased spouse\*.

Death of  
Robert  
Bruce.

A. D.  
1329.

As an atonement for the sacrilegious assassination of Comyn; and for the guilt which he had incurred

\* Barbour, Book XX;—Heming. II. 269;—Fordun. XIII. 12. 14.

incurred by his long and obstinate disobedience to the authority of the Holy See, as well as by the ravages unavoidably committed upon the estates of the English Clergy, in his frequent inroads into the northern provinces of England: Bruce had long intended to assume the cross, and to repair in devout pilgrimage to the Holy Land, whenever the affairs of his kingdom would permit. The resolution was natural, even in a mind so manly and unenfeebled as his, at a time when this pilgrimage was universally preached, as a full expiation for every crime. In his last hours, he anxiously desired, that, after his death, his heart at least, should be conveyed to Jerusalem, and deposited at the Holy Sepulchre. The gallant Douglas, his old and faithful companion in arms, undertook to fulfil this last wish of his master. Randolph, agreeably to the parliamentary settlement which had been formerly made, was to become Guardian to the young King, and Regent of the kingdom\*.

SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.

Douglas  
under-  
takes to  
convey the  
King's  
heart to  
the Holy  
Land.

ROBERT BRUCE is one of the most illustrious names that have been preserved in the records of History. The train of his life and actions, remarkably evince, that the genius and character of man, are formed, in a great measure, by the influence

\* Barbour, Book XX :—Fœdera IV. 400.

SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.

ence of the circumstances in which he is educated. Nothing could be more fickle, faithless, irresolute, and idly turbulent, than Bruce's conduct when he first entered upon the stage of public affairs, in his opening manhood. What great quality, except desperate boldness, did he display in the first luckless enterprize, in which he seized the Crown? But, the state of almost total desertion to which he was reduced by the loss of the battle of Methven; the perils and hardships amidst which he for some time wandered, an outlaw rather than a King! the necessity under which he then found himself, either of conquering, or of perishing unhonoured and unpitied; the destitution under which he, for a while laboured, of almost all resources, except what his own powers of contrivance and conciliation, of acting and suffering, could furnish; the rising success which began, at length, to crown his efforts; the intimate connection between his own private interests and the welfare of his country, by which his personal ambition was necessarily exalted into patriotism; the continual vigilance and enterprize, which became necessary, that he might maintain and prosecute his first successes; growing experience; and the high and voluntary confidence, which, he must have felt with pride, that the Scottish nation at length almost universally reposed in his valour and his virtues: This combination and series of circumstances and events

vents in the fortune of his life, gradually restrain-<sup>SECT. I.</sup>  
 ed the levity, tempered the ardour, and concentrat-<sup>CH. VIII.</sup>  
 ed the energy of Bruce's character; enlighten-  
 ed his understanding, and mellowed his passions;  
 elevated and enlarged his soul with a magnanimi-  
 ty, allied alike to heroism, and to wisdom; soften-  
 ed his heart to pity for the woes of others, and at  
 the same time strengthened it to bear his own;  
 taught him to discern the true interests of his  
 country; and made him a master, almost unrival-  
 led, of the arts of government, and of war. The  
 humanity with which Bruce, like Wallace, was  
 ever ready to spare his enemies, except amidst the  
 fury of battle, is another illustrious instance prov-  
 ing, that valour is always incapable of deliberate  
 cruelty. The dismantlement or demolition of the  
 Scottish castles, as they fell into his hands; be-  
 cause the English alone had machines to batter,  
 and provisions, arms, and treasure to store in them;  
 was a measure of extraordinary prudence and fore-  
 sight. Bruce had the fortune to be assisted by some  
 of the wisest and bravest men of the Age in which  
 he lived; Douglas, Randolph, and Walter Stew-  
 art, and Edward Bruce, with many others who  
 served under him, and whose characters had been  
 formed by the same circumstances which fashion-  
 ed his: But, only when guided by their Sove-  
 reign's presence and counsels, did these illustrious  
 men, entirely avoid error in the conduct of their  
 military

Sect. I.  
Ch. VIII.

military expeditions, or in the civil transactions in which they were engaged : However conscious of their own merits, they never failed to reverence the superior endowments, still more than the sovereign authority of their King. The very consideration, that Bruce rose from a private condition, to a throne, at a time, when, even to maintain possession of a throne peaceably inherited, required extraordinary talents and activity ; would be alone sufficient to persuade us that he must have been one of the most eminent persons who have appeared in the progress of human society. His care for the restoration of legal order in his dominions, and the excellent laws enacted during his reign, are not less honourable to his civil administration, than are his wars to his military talents. It bespeaks extraordinary wisdom and worth of character in him, that he was able to preserve to the last, the attachment of so many warlike followers, whose services had created his fortune, and whom it must have been impossible for him, to reward, to the full measure of those merits which they, in their own estimation, possessed. In abilities, Bruce was certainly not inferior, in magnanimous integrity he was greatly superior, to his first formidable enemy, Edward the First of England. Of all the illustrious men who lived nearly about the same period, only his fellow-countryman, Wallace, appears to have possessed those qualities which con-

stitute true greatness of character, in a more eminent degree, than Bruce.

SECT. I.  
CH. VIII.

By his first wife, Isabella, the daughter of Donald, Earl of Marre, Robert Bruce had a daughter, Marjory, who died before her father. His second wife, Elizabeth, daughter to Aymer De Burgh, Earl of Ulster, bore to him, three daughters, Margaret, Matilda, and Elizabeth, and his son, David, who succeeded him on the throne. He left one natural son named after himself, Robert\*.

## BOOK

\* Fordun. XII. 23 :—Charter of Sutherland 14th Oct. 1347 :—Crawford's Peerage, 72. 377.



## B O O K III.

## SECTION II.

*History of the LABOURS, KNOWLEDGE, and ENJOYMENTS of the INHABITANTS of SCOTLAND, during the latter part of the Thirteenth Century, and in the beginning of the Fourteenth.*

IN the preceding section, we have pursued the history of the Scottish nation, through a series of wars and negotiations, victories and defeats, invasions of their country, and expeditions into the territories of their enemies, truces reluctantly concluded, and soon impatiently violated, grand and rugged virtues, fierce and barbarous crimes, such as fill the annals, with only some slight diversities, of almost all the kingdoms of Europe, for the same period. However interesting, by the wonderful energy of human character displayed in them, and by the continual perils, alarming to sympathy, in which we have seen the heroes of each passing scene, to be involved; yet, have these events, as we advanced through them, gradually lost much of their power over the imagination and the feelings; by means of that constant recurrence, which they exhibit, of a few similar incidents still proceeding from the same causes, and terminating, with few variations, still in a similar issue. We shall,

shall, therefore, relieve and enliven attention, by <sup>SECT. II.</sup> turning to examine, again more minutely, what sort of men, those were, of whose fortunes we have pursued the tale; what *arts* they practised; with what principles of *knowledge*, their minds were enlightened; what *enjoyments*, that country, and that independence afforded, which they held so dear?

I. THE *local circumstances* of the Scottish nation, were little altered, and certainly not at all <sup>Local circumstances.</sup> meliorated in the progress of this period. The same humid atmosphere, the same chilling climate, the same scowling winds, still prevailed, without mitigation. The marshes had not yet been drained; the fields were still, almost universally, unclosed: The rivers were rarely crowned with bridges: The forests were indeed gradually more and more opened up, and cleared away; yet not by useful industry, or to give place to cultivation; but by the waste of fuel, building, and war; and to abandon still more and more of the country to bleak heath, and to fullen, noxious morasses: Around the shores, were no fair havens, artificially formed, to receive perishing vessels from the fury of the seas: The loftier mountains were commonly for two-thirds of the year, covered deep, on their upper parts, with snows: That desolation which was, from time to time, spread over the country, by the ravages of war, effaced, in the course of



SECT. II.

this period, many of those marks of cultivation which had been, before, slowly scattered over the land: The castles and walled towns lay, almost every where, in ruins; the very vestiges of the hamlets and cottages of the peasantry, were destroyed; the gardens and granges belonging to the Clergy, were reduced into the same waste, neglected condition, in which the lands of the laity usually lay\*.

Popula-  
tion.

If the *population* of the whole Scottish territories, might be estimated at about six hundred thousand souls, in the comparatively peaceful reign of Alexander the Third; it must have been, at least, prevented from rising above that number, if **not** reduced considerably below it, by the slaughter and devastation of those wars which prevailed almost uninterruptedly, from the accession of John Balliol, until the death of Robert Bruce. When Bruce led armies of twenty or thirty thousand men into the field; these were almost the whole military force of his dominions; two-thirds, at the least, of all those who could bear arms, and who, in the extreme poverty and nakedness of the country, could be tolerably equipped for the shock of battle. Few remained in garrisons; for, to avoid the necessity of this, the castles were, for the most part, demolished. Many of the meanest peasants, who, in

\* Fordun.—Blind Harry:—Barbour:—Anderson's Diplomata:—Rymer's Fœdera, passim.

in more quiet times, would have been refused the <sup>SECT. II.</sup> honour of bearing arms, were, by the necessities of war, emancipated from their menial toils, and called to the glory of defending their country's freedom. Even the Clergy were, in various instances, prompted to violate the peaceable character of their sacred profession; and in support of measures which were, in an eminent degree, directed by their counsels, to gird on the buckler, to grasp the spear, and to rush into scenes of death and carnage. All the same circumstances which contributed to waste, with terrible rapidity, the existing population of the kingdom, served likewise to hinder the waste from being abundantly supplied by the resources of marriage, and by the adolescence of the rising generations. Famine, terrour, and general wretchedness necessarily chilled and blasted the joys of love, and all the sweet indulgences of connubial tendernefs. When all the family of death, were let furiously loose upon human life; infancy that should have advanced to recruit the ranks of society, was, by its helpless weakness, the most fatally exposed to their havock. It seems impossible, that the population of Scotland, should not have been sensibly diminished in the course of those long and bloody contentions between the Scots and the English, which were terminated by the Peace of Northampton\*.

II

\* Eosdem quos supra.

## SECT. II.

LABOURS  
providing  
subsist-  
ence;  
hunting  
and fish-  
ing.

II. *HUNTING* and *fishing*, were, especially during this period, two of the most considerable resources from which the Scots provided themselves with *food*. The devastation, and the neglect of husbandry, which were occasioned by incessant war, necessarily reduced the inhabitants of the wasted country, to depend, in some measure, for subsistence, upon the precarious shifts of savage life. When English armies, invading Scotland, had consumed those stores of provisions, which they brought with them; the tame cattle of the country, where any such remained; the wild cattle, the deer, and the boars of the forests; the salmon of the rivers, and the trouts of the lakes; were then the only prey, by the use of which they could save themselves from perishing by famine. In his first wanderings upon the Grampian mountains, after the defeat at Methven; while he lurked, as a fugitive, among the Hebodian isles; through many of his subsequent vicissitudes of misfortune and success; Bruce was obliged to find provisions for himself and his followers, chiefly by the capture of fishes and wild quadrupeds. Fowls were likewise objects of prey to the hunter; but more rarely than quadrupeds; because they could be less easily slain with the bow or the spear; and because hawks and falcons trained to fowling, were rare and costly. The wild boar was accounted the noblest animal that could be pursued in the chase. The highest honour was paid to a guest, in setting a boar's head before him,

at an entertainment: The representation of a boar's SECT. II. head, was one of the most distinguishing ensigns of nobility and valour, that could be displayed on the warriour's shield. Wolves and foxes were also objects of the chase; but not frequently; and only, in sportive trial of hardihood; or when they were unavoidably encountered. The hills and forests, among which the wild quadrupeds roamed, were all divided among different proprietors; each of whom enjoyed the exclusive freedom of the chase, within his own domains. New laws were from time to time, enacted, to regulate the very important right of salmon-fishing: Certain terms in the year were carefully fixed, during which alone, might salmons be lawfully taken: It was ordained, that the *cruives* and *yards*, placed upon rivers, to intercept salmons, proceeding up the stream, should be constructed with such a degree of wideness, between the bars, as might permit the smaller salmons to come and go freely, up and down the river. Salmons, cut in pieces, salted, and deposited in barrels; were always one capital article of the winter stores. Edward the Second of England, immediately before one of his first expeditions into Scotland; sent orders to the citizens of Berwick, to provide for the use of his army, several hundred barrels of salmons. All the rivers of Scotland which discharged their waters into the sea, abounded in this excellent species of fishes. Shoals of herrings frequented the western coasts. Fishes  
were

SECT. II. were a resource against famine, so much the more certain; because they could not be exterminated, or permanently driven from those shores which they were wont to frequent. On the northern and western coasts, the inhabitants, even in peaceable times, lived chiefly by hunting and fishing. On the east and the south-east coasts, indeed, they appear to have been somewhat more industrious, and more civilized\*.

Domesticated animals, and management of them.

Within the interior country, the people of Scotland were, during this period, remarkably a *pastoral* nation. Those half domesticated animals which they possessed in the greatest numbers, appear to have been oxen, horses, goats, swine, and sheep. The wild *aurochs* was the first variety of the ox known in this island, and in the other north-west parts of Europe: By the Romans; or perhaps from Spain or Gaul, before the Roman invasion; that famous breed of milk-white cattle, with brown ears, were probably introduced, for the first time, into Scotland, which have been but lately exterminated. The existence of these two distinct races of oxen; and, it may be, the occasional introduction of other new breeds; had already produced a considerable diversity in size, colours, and

\* Barbour and Blind Harry *passim*:—Ayloffe's Calendar, P. 135. 140:—Rymer's Fædera III. 95:—Anderson's Diplomata, Pl. 24. and 25.—Statistical Account of the town and parish of Dunfermling, &c.


and useful qualities, among the cattle in the herds SECT. II  
which belonged to the Scots of this period. As  
the forests were opened up, and appropriated;  
the numbers of the *aurochs*-race, had begun to be  
gradually diminished: When other oxen, more  
gentle, or more useful for the draught, or for their  
milk, flesh, or hides, came to be preferred, as tame  
cattle, to the beautiful, milk-white breed; these last  
were, by degrees, abandoned to the wild life of  
deer, on the mountains, and in the forests. The  
*horse*, originally perhaps a native of Arabia, has  
existed in Britain, most probably from a time not  
much later than the æra of its first population by  
human inhabitants: But, since the period of *their*  
first propagation in the island; until the Nor-  
mans introduced into it, their modes of life, and  
their arts of peace and war; it has not appeared,  
that, the breed of horses, was cultivated or improv-  
ed in Scotland, with any particular attention or  
success: About the æra of the establishment of the  
Normans in England; a new and larger race of  
horses, were imported into the southern kingdom;  
and were, within no long period of time, propagat-  
ed likewise in Scotland: On an horse of this race,  
the full-armed knight was always mounted, for the  
tourneament, the single combat, or the field of ge-  
neral battle: The meaner and light-armed horse-  
men rode upon those smaller palfreys which were  
more common in the country, more cheaply to be  
purchased, and more easily sustained with food:

## SECT. II.

When Robert Bruce slew Roger Bohun, on the evening before the battle of Bannockburn; Bruce was mounted only on a small palfrey; because he then rode about, to view the relative dispositions of both armies, without any intentions of combat: On the *seals* of the Kings and of other Scots belonging to this period; the figure of the horse, on that side of the seal, on which its owner appears full-armed, on horseback; seems usually to represent an animal of a size and figure between those of the modern *hunter*, and those of our middle-sized draught-horse; and this was the war-horse of the Scots, in the end of the thirteenth, and the beginning of the fourteenth century.—*Goats*, whose character remains always between that of wild, and that of domesticated quadrupeds, yet more nearly allied to the former, than to the latter, were now more numerous than roes or deer, on all the wildest Scottish mountains: They had multiplied greatly in the course of the period immediately prior to this: The scantiness and peculiarity of the vegetable fare which was sufficient to nourish them; and the utility of their milk, flesh, and hides; with the smallness of the attention requisite in tending them; recommended these animals, in a particular manner, to men who were so inexpert in all the more complex and painful pastoral arts, as the Scots of this Age.—*Sheep*, as well as goats, appear to have been so early, diffused very generally, over the face of the earth; that it has been impossible, to discover with certainty,

certainty, in what country, they were originally <sup>SECT. II.</sup> indigenous : Since the æra of the Roman invasion, or perhaps some remoter time, sheep had been among the tame animals of Scotland : Their feebleness and gentleness, rendering them, an easy prey, even to an unarmed spoiler, prevented them from multiplying, as if they had been hardier, and fiercer or wilder animals : But, the singular utility of their wool, as a material for the fabrication of articles of cloathing, brought them continually into higher estimation ; and procured to them, still more and more of the assiduous care of the shepherd : Many other animals afforded, nourishing flesh ; while sheep alone yielded wool : In the end of the thirteenth, and the beginning of the fourteenth century, flocks of sheep, were considerably numerous in Scotland ; although less so, perhaps, than herds of oxen, goats, or swine.—*Swine*, in a wild state, were among the first brute animals that entered this island : The young of some of those wild swine, were soon caught, and domesticated : Throughout Scotland and the Scottish isles, they were multiplied with great diligence : They were a favourite part of the animal stock fed on the lands belonging to the clergy, regular and secular : The forests of oak afforded abundance of acorns in the end of harvest, which served to fatten the swine for slaughter ; Among the other forest laws, was a regulation fixing the conditions upon which the swine of the inhabi-



**SECT. II.**  tants who dwelled in the environs of the royal forests, might be admitted into them, in the proper season, to devour the mast\*.

**Superior utility of oxen and horses, &c.** OF all these animals, oxen were the most serviceable to the Scots, for subsistence, in the course of those wars, of which, the events have been related in the foregoing section. Retiring before invasion, they drove their cattle, with them: the milk of the cows, was their richest and most agreeable beverage: a cow or ox was quickly slain, when ravenous hunger demanded a meal of flesh: butter and cheese were luxuries to furnish out a feast. Their cattle were hardy, like themselves; might be driven suddenly, in speed; and by long journeys, to the mountains, without perishing by any moderate measure of famine and fatigue; and were of a middle character, neither fierce and wild, nor incapable of subsisting without continual feeding and protection. Mounted on their small horses, and driving their cattle before them, the Scots nearly resembled those pastoral nations of the North of Asia, who have, from time to time, colonized or conquered the regions of the East, West, and South. When their herds of oxen failed; the goats afforded yet another resource. After these, there remained nothing, except the chance

\* Fordun. passim:—L. L. Foresti:—Seals of Bruce and others, in Anderfon's diplomata, &c. &c.

chance of hunting and fishing; for sheep and tame swine could not be driven about, in the enterprizes and escapes of warfare.—They had *dogs* of different breeds; but, for the most part, ferocious and half-savage; as being employed only in hunting, and tearing wild animals to death. When the men of Galloway wished to find the secret haunts of Robert Bruce, on the confines of Carrick; they took with them, dogs, which they expected both to discover him by the sagacity of their smell, and then furiously to pursue, and seize him.—Poultry, geese, and ducks, as well as hawks and falcons, were, even in this period, bred and reared, with no small care\*.

AT the unfortunate æra of the death of Alexander the Third, before the commencement of the wars in defence of the national independency, *Agriculture* was more generally and skilfully pursued in Scotland, than it had ever been, before. For the first three or four harvests, which followed, after that event, the labours of the husbandman, were not yet greatly interrupted, or frustrated by hostile devastation. The estates of the Church were still the best cultivated. Not only for the immediate use of man, but for the sustenance also, of the tame quadrupeds, were the toils of culture employed

\* Barbour, Book VII. XVII. &c.

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employed to multiply and improve the productions of the ground. Parks or folds were inclosed with in low walls of turfs, or of loose stones, for places of pasture and shelter to milk-cows, horses, and sheep. Meadows were divided from the open pasture-grounds; and their grass, mowen down with the scythe, dried, and stored up in barns, or in the open air, for the use of winter. William Bunnock had been engaged to furnish the garrison of Linlithgow, with a quantity of hay; when he contrived the stratagem by which he made the Scots masters of the castle. Meadows are commonly one among the articles enumerated in the charters of this age. For tillage, a part of every separate possession, was set apart, under the denomination of the *Croft*. The *Croft*; the *meadow*; and the *park*, *fold*, or *waird*; composed, all together, what was called the *infield*: The *outfield* consisted of *muirs*, *mosses*, and *woods*. The *dung* of the cattle, was almost the only sort of manure, that was commonly laid upon the *croft*. Hardly any other instrument, than the plough, was employed in the different operations of tillage. It seems to have been, in its construction, nearly the same as the *old Scotch plough*. which still remains in use, in some places. Oxen, more than horses, were still yoked to drag it; because the more submissive patience and sluggishness of the ox, recommended him, rather than the horse, to the service of awkward,

ward, unskilful ploughmen. Yet, as horses were <sup>SECT. II.</sup> now numerous in the country, they began to be employed, still more and more in the different works of husbandry. The horse was chiefly used, however, to convey burthens of corn, hay, or other matters, from place to place, upon his back. The *car* without wheels, was much more commonly used, at least in rustic labour, than the wheeled *cart* and *waggon* which we now employ. Farms surrounded with some rude inclosure, and cultivated above the state of the circumjacent country, were ordinarily distinguished by the appellation of *granges*; but such *granges*, for the most part, pertained only to some garrisoned castle, or to the monks or nuns of some convent. Along the eastern coasts, as far northwards, as to the Moray-Frith; the harvest was so early; and the soil of the cultivated spots, so rich; as to admit of wheat, for the principal article of crop. The ancient records of the abbacy of Elgin, and the bishopric of Moray, make frequent mention of wheat, as the species of grain which was then chiefly cultivated in these parts. Barley was more common in other places. In others, and upon the extreme frontier of cultivation, no grain was sown, except the small grey oats, which is still the favourite grain of the Hebridian isles. Reaped, and gathered into the barns, the corn was then *threshed* out with the *flail*; an ancient Anglo-Saxon implement, which has long continued

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continued in use, without undergoing any remarkable change of its construction. The *straw* served for food to the cattle, for *litter* to the chambers of the great, or to be spread for beds to the poor; and for various other uses. For grinding the corn into meal, there had been, by this time, a number of mills erected; some made to be wrought by horses or oxen; others, to be driven by wind; but, the greater number, placed beside running streams, that they might be put in motion by the impulse of water. The barley was almost all macerated into *malt*; which was afterwards, by decoction and fermentation, to afford the exhilarating beverage, *ale*. In seed-time, and in harvest, all the meaner inhabitants of the land, wherever agriculture was practised, would, with one accord, apply themselves, for a few days, to the labours of sowing, or reaping. During the intermediate seasons, the toils of husbandry, were almost wholly intermitted. They knew not, to preserve a field in perpetual fertility, by manures, and by a skilful variation of the species of crop; but continued to plough up the same ground, year after year, and to sow it with grain; until its powers of nourishing vegetation, appeared to be, at last entirely exhausted; and it seemed to require rest, like a wearied animal, to renovate its strength. The management of *bees*, was likewise an object in the rural œconomy of the Scots of this age; for, *honey*, and *mead* brewed

brewed from it, are often mentioned, as articles <sup>SECT. II.</sup> among their stores. Several fruit-bearing trees and shrubs, appear to have been cultivated, with increasing diligence, among the gardens and orchards, especially of the Clergy. Coleworts, and leguminous plants, were the only pot-herbs, that were commonly produced in the gardens. Although such were the agricultural œconomy of those parts of the country which were, at all subjected to cultivation ; yet must it be confessed, that, in a general view of the whole kingdom ; the cultivated lands would appear to be only so many insulated spots ; scattered amidst universal bleakness, barrenness, and savage wildness ; as are the Hebridian isles in the Vergivian sea. In the progress of the wars of Wallace and Bruce, the cultivation of Scotland necessarily became still less and less : The usual labours of seed-time and harvest, were forsaken or interrupted : The growing corn was often destroyed by enemies spoiling the land ; while it was, as yet green and unfit for use : In the general disorder and distress, the rights of property, indispensibly necessary to the protection of agriculture, ceased to be respected ; and none were careful to sow, what none was sure to reap for himself. When Bruce and his Parliament set themselves to re-establish law and order in the kingdom which they had rescued from under the usurped domination of the English ; they found it necessary to enjoin,


ECT. II. enjoin, that, the Scottish soldiers, when summoned out, to join the army, should not any longer, at pleasure, spoil the *granges*, and seize the corn and other provisions of their fellow-subjects, through whose lands they might have occasion to pass\*.

Cookery. THE fowls, beasts, and fishes, the precarious prey of the fisher and the hunter; the milk and the flesh of their tame quadrupeds; and the meal into which the grain, the produce of their harvest, was ground; were prepared for food, by *culinary arts*, extremely simple and unfastidious. Flesh was roasted on wooden or iron spits; broiled on the burning coals; or boiled or sodden in boiling water. *Salt* was manufactured, particularly along the south-east coasts of Scotland; as appears by the care with which *salt-pans* are mentioned in charters transferring the property of lands in those parts; and it was plentifully used, if not as an indispensable article of seasoning to animal food eaten fresh; yet, as a pickle, to preserve from putrefaction, those stores of fish and flesh, which were annually provided in the end of harvest, for the supply of winter and spring. It is even probable, that, salted provisions were generally preferred, as better, and more agreeable food, than flesh newly slain, and unseasoned. *Butter* and *cheese* were prepared from the milk, and equally seasoned with salt:

\* Anderson's Diplomata, Pl. 24, 25, 43, 44:—Ayloffe's Calend. P. 126:—Ford.—Barbour:—Blind Harry *passim*, &c.

falt: These articles made also a considerable part <sup>SECT. II.</sup> of the winter stores: Tithes of them, were eagerly sought, and were obtained by the Clergy. Flour and meal appear to have been kneaded into leavened or unleavened *loaves*, which were toasted in a heated *oven*; or spread out from dough, into thin *cakes*, which were exposed to the fire, upon a *grid-iron*. Dinner and supper were, probably, the only stated *meals*: Breakfast was neither a general, nor, even with those who used it, more than an occasional and hasty refreshment, sometimes taken, sometimes neglected: In the scarcity of the necessaries for sustenance, which frequently prevailed, during the wars of this period; many of the poor inhabitants of Scotland, were often reduced to appease hunger with nothing more than a few morsels of putrid fish, or of horse-flesh, in the day. The flesh of swine was often salted, dried, and kept in reserve, as bacon. The Scottish camp on the *Were*; in the condition in which it was found by the English; after it had been cunningly deserted by Randolph and Douglas; exhibited to young Edward the Third, and his soldiers, a curious specimen of the homely fare and simple cookery, with which the Scots could content themselves, when they were upon a military expedition. Their leathern bags, which had held their oaten meal; their kettles of raw hides, supported upon the fire, by wooden stakes; their wooden spits clumsily fitted for roast-



**SECT. II.**  ing the flesh which they did not chuse to boil; discovered a simplicity of cookery and of camp-equipage, which was altogether astonishing to the English and the Flemish soldiers of Edward's host. Nothing was to be seen, of those cumbrous carriages of provisions, and that complex and sumptuous apparatus of cookery, which, even in this period, were usually required to accompany the marches of the French and English armies. Water, milk, ale, and wine, with little, if any, use of ardent spirits; were the liquors drunk, to quench thirst, or to exhilarate convivial enjoyment\*.

**Dress.** IN this Age, the fashions of *dress*, did not continually change, with a capricious fickleness and levity; as they were afterwards to do, in the distant, future progress of refinement, luxury, and art. The impressions on coins and seals; the rude drawings, embellishing *illuminated* manuscripts; figures in carved wood or sculptured stone, ornamenting tombs, cathedrals, or chapels; and some incidental notices in the few records in which the history of these times, has been preserved; are the only authorities of any information that can be gathered, concerning the cloathing worn by the Scots, in the end of the thirteenth, and the beginning of the fourteenth century. Their garb of peace still differed but little, from that of the old Anglo-

\* Barbour:—Froissart:—Diplomata, Pl. 24, 25, 36, 37:—Blind Harry *passim*.

Anglo-Saxons. The feet and legs were bare, or <sup>Sæc. II.</sup> covered only with brogues or boots, made, for the most part, of raw, undressed, hairy skins. In the Scottish camp at Were, the English found ten thousand pairs of brogues made out of raw hides, and rudely stitched with thongs; the hairy side of the hide being turned inwards in the brogue. On his seal, of which the impression appears upon his written deeds; Robert Bruce is represented sitting on his throne, with his feet bare. As yet, that useful subdivision of labour, was almost, or altogether unknown among the Scots; which was, afterwards, to separate from the employments of agriculture, pasturage, and war; the meaner and subordinate works of weaving cloth, tanning leather, sewing woollen or linen garments, and making shoes; and which was to distribute these tasks, as so many distinct species of occupation, among different classes of artisans. In every family, the women spun wool into yarn; coloured the yarn, when an artificial colour was wanted, by tinging it with the decoction of mosses or other plants; by the occasional aid of some of the men, wove it into cloth; *waulked* this cloth, which was at first thin, to a sufficient degree of thickness, by long-continued rubbing between the hands; and then, at last, cut and sewed it into the garments for which it was intended. A dirty white, or black; either of them, the native colour of the wool; or

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a grey produced by the commixture of wools of these two natural hues ; were the common colours of the raiment worn by the meaner Scots, in this period. *Green* was the favourite colour of persons of higher rank. Young Selby, son to the English Constable of the castle of Dundee, is related, by Henry the blind minstrel ; to have provoked William Wallace, by telling him, in scorn, that it would better become such a pitiful Scot, to be clad in *rufset-grey*, than in *goodly green*. *Shirts* or other under-garments of linen, do not appear to have been, as yet, worn among the Scots. The impressions of their seals, and the figures upon their coins, represent them ; with the feet often bare ; the hair short, and in some instances, curled ; a woollen garment next to the skin, which, in fashion, seems nearly to resemble one of our modern shirts or night-gowns ; and above this inner garment, a robe, similar to the *plaid*, of which the use has not yet been wholly discontinued, among the Scots. A buckle or *broach* attaches one end of the *plaid*, which is flung over the shoulder, to the other which, after passing across the back, is gathered up under the opposite arm, and raised to the point of junction, across the breast : A belt or *fasb* confines the interior garment, at the middle. Under armour, as it should seem, only the *coat*, or interior woollen garment could be worn. The dress of the women, did not yet materially differ, in its fashion, from that of the men. Some richer and more gorgeous

stuffs

stuffs might indeed be imported, for the use of ladies of the highest rank; and it was natural, that they should wear their hair long, rather than short; since they had not occasion, like the men, to cut the hair short, in order to avoid inconvenience from it, in combat. The dress of the Clergy, being regulated by the laws of the church, was little subject to changes of fashion; but, remained the same, *in this period*, as in that which immediately preceded it\*.

DURING that period of the progress of social life in Scotland, of which the history is, in this Book, related; Architecture, military, civil, or ecclesiastical, was little practised or improved among the Scots. Those few forts which the English erected here and there in Scotland, were no adequate compensation to the land, for the many edifices of all sorts, which they furiously demolished. Even those were, with the other strong castles in the kingdom, thrown down, and razed to the foundation by Robert Bruce, when he had wrested them, one by one, out of the hands of the English. Churches, monasteries, towns, hamlets, and cottages were, every where, reduced to ruins, in the course of those long and bloody wars by which the Scots maintained their national independence

\* Blind Harry's Life of Wallace, Book I. Morison's Edition:—Impressions of Seals in the Diplomata:—Fordun.—Rymer's Fœdera:—Barbour, &c.

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pendency. The terrours of superstition, although powerful above every thing else, except military force, could not always protect the buildings consecrated to religion. Whatever structures had been erected by the piety and mitigated barbarism of former times, if not destroyed, were, however, in many instances, suffered to fall into decay.

YET, even in these times, some dignitaries in the Church, and others, zealously repaired a number of the ruinous *ecclesiastical buildings*, and reared various new ones. William Lamberton, the patriotic Archbishop of St Andrew's, in the earlier part of his episcopal incumbency, repaired, at a great expence, the several buildings of the monastery of St Andrew's. After he had been, for eighteen years, Bishop of this See, he turned his care to the state of the buildings which belonged to the bishopric; and erected, for the residence of the Bishop, or of inferior Clergymen within his diocese, or dependent upon him; at St Andrew's, a *fortalice*, or strong turreted palace; at Inchmurdoch, Monimeal, Dairfy, Torry, Muckarty, Kettins, Monymusk, Linton, Laffwade, and Stow, meaner, yet decent and commodious dwellings. The same good Bishop ornamented the cathedral church of St Andrew's, with a variety of curious decorations in carved wood; for, the art of *carving in wood*, was one of those arts which were practised, in this Age, with considerable artifice and delicacy

delicacy of execution, although without grace or SECT. II. elegance of design. Other similar works were executed by other churchmen. *Vaults* and *funeral-monuments* were formed, from time to time, to protect, and to distinguish, the ashes of the dead. In the course of this period, the architecture of all Europe began to become more elaborate, *quaint*, and artificial in its *ornaments*; and this character did not fail to be communicated to the few edifices which were now built or repaired, in Scotland. Hewn stones were imported chiefly from *Caen* in Normandy. Bricks, of which the use and the manufacture were now common in England, might be also baken and burnt by the Scots, or imported by them, from their neighbours. The red sandstone, and the granite, which the strata of the Scottish rocks, afford, in great abundance for building, began now to be hewn for this use. Not only at Lochmaben, but also at *Annan*, the *Bruces* possessed a strong *castle*. By an inscription upon a stone lately found among the ruins of the castle of *Annan*; it appears, that this castle was either rebuilt, or partially repaired in the last year of the thirteenth century. Some part of its walls, still stands; and this is of vast thickness; and composed, partly of red sand-stones which appear to have been rudely polished; in part of smaller, unpolished stones, chiefly schistous; while the mass is agglomerated by a cement of shell-lime and sand, which

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which has been hardened by time, to the consistency of a rock. For the *cottages* of the peasants, small wood, turfs, straw, clay, and heath, were still the ordinary materials; and these articles, and this destination of them, were commonly mentioned with great care, as being either granted or reserved, in every written deed, recording the transference of property in land. The *barns* and *mills* were not, in general, of more durable materials, or stronger architecture, than the cottages of the peasantry. The few *bridges*, already existing, or which were built or repaired within this period, were of exceedingly strong mason-work; having pointed, elliptical arches; and rising with a convexity of the upper superficies, which made the passage along the bridge, to resemble the ascent and descent over a hillock. In this period; and in consequence partly of the demolition of so many of the larger castles; partly by the English, or after their example; were a number of *fortalices*, *peels*, or single towers, built, in different parts, throughout Scotland. The *peels* of Lochmaben, Linlithgow, Gargunnock, are named, with others, in the records of the history of these times. *Bruce*, after he had reconquered the country, could not refuse; even to those of his nobles, whom he would not allow to fortify themselves against him, in strong castles; at least permission to erect towers for

the accommodation and protection of their families. In the state of poverty to which it was reduced by long wars, Scotland could not, in the latter part of Robert Bruce's reign, afford to its inhabitants, means for the construction of edifices so extensive and strong, as the old Norman castles. *Towns* were usually fortified by a wall and a ditch, and defended by a castle : Within, the streets were irregular ; and the houses, mean, and without uniformity of dimensions, aspect, or structure. Whether a castle or a cottage, every dwelling was, on the inside, miserably dark, dirty, and incommodious : The walls remained bare, without decoration or covering : The roof was often without a ceiling : The floors were commonly covered deep with filth and nastiness of all sorts : The furniture never consisted of more than a small number of the most necessary utensils and means of domestic accommodation ; and those of the rudest kind\*.

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THE nation, so far as they were accounted *Free-men*, were still, only an *army*, distributed over the country, for *their* support, and for *its* fortification and defence. As the different degrees of their

Military Arts.

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respective

\* Fordun. L. VI. C. 44 :—Anderson *Diplomata Scotiæ*, Pl. 24, 25 :—Ayliffe's *Calendar of Ancient Charters*, P. 112. 146 :—Barbour and Blind Harry *passim* :—Statistical account of the Parish of Annan, &c. &c.



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respectve wealth, might afford ; they were required to hold themselves in continual readiness to march out to battle, accoutred, respectively, in *light*, or in complete, *heavy* armour. He who had personal property, equal to the value of one cow, was enjoined by a law enacted in the thirteenth year of the reign of Robert Bruce, to provide himself with a bow, and a quiver containing twenty-four arrows, or else with a long wooden spear, pointed with brass or iron ; and to accustom himself to the expert exercise of these arms. Those whose possessions were equivalent to ten pounds in money, were, by the same law, required to arm themselves, with complete, *defensive* armour for the head, the neck, the arms, the trunk of the body, and the hands ; and with a sword and a spear, as their weapons for *offence*. The Barons, and the Sheriffs of the counties, were appointed to enforce compliance with this statute. Confiscation of all their property, was the punishment, to be inflicted on the disobedient\*.

Artillery  
for Sieges.

FOR sieges, the Scots of this age, appear to have had few of those bulky and formidable machines which the English employed in battering the Scottish towns and castles. Not that the uses of the instruments ; for the most part, the same as those of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans* ; which were applied, in this period by the English, and the other

\* *Statua Roberti I.* published in Collection of *Regiam Majestatem*.

other nations of Europe; could possibly be un-<sup>SECT. II.</sup>known to the Scots who fought under the banners of Balliol, Wallace, and Bruce. But, the Scots were in a condition, so miserable and destitute, that they could not provide themselves with military engines, so expensive, and difficult of construction. Of these engines, the most remarkable appear to have been, the *scow*, the *mangonel*, the *tribeck*, with some few others; intended, all, for the purposes, of sapping the walls of the place besieged, by close assault; of battering these walls, and annoying their defenders with stones, darts, or arrows hurled from a distance; and to cover the assailants, while they approached, to undermine, or scale, the walls. Stratagem and surprize; not the apparatus and the labour of regular assault; were, as we have seen, the means by which the Scots recovered their own towns and castles out of the hands of the English. In their attempts upon towns or castles within the English territories, they were very rarely successful. Scaling ladders were almost the only instruments useful at sieges alone, which the Scots were ordinarily wont to employ\*.

In the course of their long wars in defence of their national independence, the Scots of this period, however, became much more expert in the military art, and more illustrious in arms, than any generation of their ancestors, had ever been. They learned

\* *Wattii Glossarium ad Matth. Paris:—Barbour:—Ford. passim.*

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learned to restrain that rash and savage impetuosity, which had, before, continually hurried the Scottish armies to fight in disorder, and at a disadvantage. Their valour became cool, steady, artful. Their bowmen, their spearmen, their cavalry; but especially their distinguished warriors, completely armed, and fighting, singly, either on foot, or on horseback; were perhaps the best soldiers in Europe. In the spoils of every fortunate battle, and amongst the military stores of every castle that they recovered, they still found new supplies of arms, by which they were enabled to accoutre themselves, continually better and better, as the war advanced. The Flemings, and the French, too; and even the English themselves, at the time when a great part of this nation, were in rebellion against Edward the Second; appear to have furnished arms, together with other supplies to the Scots, in the way of traffic, during the regency of Wallace, and the reign of Bruce. Bows and spears, the Scots could make for themselves: They had smiths, who, although not exceedingly skilful or expert in their art, could, however, sharpen, or otherwise repair armour that was blunted or shattered: Commerce and the chance of battle, supplied what else was wanted. Man's improvement in any art, is ever in proportion to his opportunities of exercise in it, and to the force of the necessity or desire, urging him to acquire it. No wonder, then, that the  
Scots;

Scots ; contending in war, so long and so earnest-<sup>SECT II.</sup>  
 ly ; opposing foes so valiant, so completely armed,  
 and so well disciplined ; having no resources, but  
 either, on the one hand victory, or on the other,  
 servitude or death ; should have advanced, in these  
 circumstances, from the irregular warfare of sava-  
 ges, to the most skilful and heroic practice of the  
 military art : No wonder, that Wallace, Robert  
 and Edward Bruce, Douglas, Randolph, Stewart,  
 should have become the most famous Knights in  
 Christendom : The Scottish Parliament had suffi-  
 cient reason to reflect ; as they did, when they ad-  
 dressed their eloquent letter of remonstrance to the  
 Pope ; with manly confidence and exultation ;  
 that, their fathers who had yielded to Edward the  
 First ; were in comparison with the sons who tri-  
 umphed over Edward the Second ; men not less  
 inexpert in war, than unwise in counsel.

It is remarkable, however, that, although war<sup>Encamp-</sup>  
 was so much the business and the passion of the<sup>ments.</sup>  
 whole Scottish nation ; although almost every cor-  
 ner of the kingdom, was now the scene of some  
 battle, inroad, or skirmish ; yet, there remain no  
*fortified camps* of either the Scots of this period, or  
 of their invaders, which might be compared with  
 the regular and fortified encampments of the Ro-  
 mans, Anglo-Saxons, or Danes. Every district  
 still presents various camps, which are known, upon  
 evidence

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evidence sufficiently satisfactory, to have been formed, and originally occupied by one or another of these three nations last mentioned : But, the camps of the later possessors of this isle, must have been, as it should seem, more irregularly occupied, and more slightly intrenched ; since they have been, every where, effaced, almost as entirely, as if they had never been. The country was now opened up, and was so much known to both the Scots and the English, that they needed not to fortify themselves in their places of encampment, with the same anxious fear of circumvention and surprize, which were naturally felt by stranger invaders. Having now numbers of towns and castles, the Scots and English felt, on this account, the less necessity for forming such temporary fortifications, as those of the camps of the Romans and the Norse-men. It may be, too, that the intrenchments of the Roman and Danish camps, have resisted the dilapidations of time, only because the country was not occupied by a numerous population, subdivided, and cultivated, until after these intrenchments had been overgrown by vegetation, and consolidated by the slow and silent operation of nature : While the works of the English and Scottish camps, being thrown up at times much later, may have been levelled by accidents arising from occupancy and cultivation, within a few years, after they were evacuated by the armies which formed them. The field

field of Bannockburn exhibits now no conspicuous <sup>SECT. II.</sup> vestiges of intrenchments; nor, even of those pits which were dug by the Scots, to ensnare the English cavalry: Nothing now remains to shew, that it was once the scene of an engagement decisive of the fate of Scotland, except that *stone* in which the royal standard is, with some show of probability, said to have been fixed, during the battle. Every other scene of the sieges and battles of this martial period, is almost equally denuded of every memorial or relic of encampment or combat.

PERHAPS, the wars in which the Scots were engaged, and the general train of their national transactions during this period, had some tendency to improve their dexterity and skill in the practice of maritime affairs. Their voyages to Norway, in order to negotiate with King Eric, and to bring home their young queen, could not have been performed with tolerable safety; if they had not been accustomed to sail in vessels fitted at once with oars and sails; and to guide their path on the deep, by the observation of the stars. With France or Flanders, they could not have had that useful intercourse which they appear to have carried on, during these times, if they had not been sufficiently acquainted with the navigation, at least of the German ocean. The expeditions against the people of the isle of *Man*, and into Ireland, could not have

**SECT. II.** have been accomplished, without a great number of vessels, and considerable, naval dexterity and skill. Nor could the Hebudæ have been inhabited, or retained in subjection to Scotland, without a continual intercourse by sea, which could not be carried on, without many vessels, and incessant navigation. The long wanderings of Robert Bruce, among these isles, in the most tempestuous season of the year, assuredly imply, since they were performed with safety; that the Hebudians were, even then, as skilful and hardy mariners, as they are, now, in the end of the eighteenth century, when the same perilous and various navigation could scarcely be performed, without certain shipwreck. Even in those early times, the fishing of their rivers and sea-coasts, appears to have been so diligently prosecuted by the Scots; that this, alone, would be sufficient to make a considerable proportion among them, seamen; and to occasion the keeping up of a great multitude, at least of small boats around all Scotland, and amongst its dependent islets. *Curraghs* of a sort of wicker-work covered with hides; vessels smaller, although not frailer than these, and framed out of the hollowed trunks of trees; ships made of joined planks, and open, although of no inconsiderable bulk and capacity; and other ships, yet larger than these last, and covered with decks; were all the different species of vessels for sailing, at this time known to the Scots. These they paddled or rowed with oars; or exposed

sed to be carried down the currents of rivers ; or SECT. II.  
 fitted with sails, that they might be driven before  
 the wind. Shipwrecks had been, already, so fre-  
 quent on the Scottish coasts ; that, in grants of  
 lands on the sea-shore, the wreck of cargoes lost,  
 was either granted or reserved, with scrupulous  
 care, as an object of considerable value. It was  
 from the Hebrudian isles chiefly, that Bruce obtain-  
 ed the vessels of the fleets, with which he invaded  
 Ireland, and the isle of Man. In a charter granted  
 by Bruce, a principal condition on the part of the  
 person in whose favour this deed was executed, is,  
 the furnishing of a ship with *forty oars*, for forty  
 days yearly, for the royal service. From an epis-  
 tle addressed by Edward the Second of England,  
 to the Earl of Flanders, it appears, that some of  
 the adherents of Bruce, who had fled from Scot-  
 land, in the season of the lowest extremity of his  
 fortunes ; having retired to Flanders ; had there  
 equipped some armed vessels, with which they,  
 from time to time, scoured the German ocean, in-  
 fested the English coasts, and seized the supplies  
 of arms, forces, and provisions which were sent,  
 by sea, from England, against the Scots. From  
 all these facts we may fairly conclude the Scottish  
 nation to have been, at this time, in a considerable  
 degree, a seafaring people ; the Hebrudians to have  
 been more entirely so, than the rest of the Scots ;  
 and the whole nation to have necessarily more  
 strongly urged to practice in naval affairs, than  
 they



**SECT. II.** they ever were before; not diverted from them; by their long contention with the English\*.

Com-  
merce.

Exports.

THEIR peaceful labours being interrupted by war; and their country spoiled and laid waste: the inhabitants of Scotland could not in this period, furnish many articles, either of *raw produce*, or of *manufacture*, for *COMMERCIAL EXPORTATION*. Even the wonted remittances of money and other goods to the Papal Court, were strictly prohibited by a law of Robert Bruce, on account of the general poverty and distress, to which the nation had been reduced by long war. *Wool* was, indeed, almost the only article of value, which the Scots could spare, while their neighbours wanted it. Berwick was the sea-port-town, from which the wool of Scotland was usually exported, whether into England, to Flanders, or to France. It seems probable, that the Scots had been, about this time, accustomed to export quantities of *salmons*, and perhaps also of *herrings*, dried, or salted in barrels. Edward the Second, before coming upon one of his expeditions against the Scots, issued an order to one of his officers in the Scottish territories, to provide three thousand *salmons* from the Scottish rivers, for the use of the army which the King was about to lead into Scotland†.

THE

\* Anderson's *Diplomata*, Pl. 24, 25. 7. 48:—Rymer's *Fœdera* III. 230. 238:—Barbour:—Fordun.—Blind Harry, &c.

† *Fœdera* III. 95:—*Statuta Roberti I.* &c.

THE IMPORTS which the Scots now received, SECT. II.  
appear to have been furnished by their neighbours Imports.  
of England, and occasionally from Flanders, France,  
or Italy. *Corn* was imported into Scotland, by  
English merchants, even in times of actual warfare  
between the two nations; as appears from letters  
and proclamations, by which Edward the Second  
of England, endeavoured to prohibit this illegal  
intercourse of his subjects with his enemies. From  
their prædatory inroads into England, during these  
wars, the Scots usually brought home various spoils  
of cattle, corn, pulse, raiment, and armour. In-  
vading a country naturally poor and barren, and  
now wasted almost to utter desolation by the long  
ravages of war; the English, in all their military  
expeditions into Scotland, brought with them large  
stores of arms and provisions; which were partly  
consumed by themselves, but commonly fell, in  
part, into the hands of the Scots. For the use of  
one of his expeditions against the Scots, Edward  
the Second enjoined the citizens of London, to  
provide to him, twenty tons of honey; an hundred  
tons of wine; five hundred pounds weight of un-  
spun hemp; an equal quantity of hemp-yarn; an  
hundred and sixty engines for the discharge of  
misile weapons, at sieges; with many thousands  
of the weapons which those propelling engines  
were employed to discharge against the foe. When  
this same Prince, as yet only Prince of Wales,  
wintered,

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wintered, at Perth, in the year one thousand three hundred and three; his troops were so abundantly supplied with *wine*, that a gallon of good French wine was commonly sold there, for fourpence of the Scottish money of that time. It was chiefly wine of Gascony and Burgundy, which the English imported into England, and by consequence, likewise into Scotland. In times of scarcity, neither Scotland nor England produced grain sufficient for the sustenance of the inhabitants: And corn was then anxiously imported from Italy, France, Germany, and the countries adjacent to the Baltic sea. In the year one thousand three hundred and twenty-one, *Genoesse* merchants brought into Britain, from Italy, considerable quantities of oil, honey, and grain. Neither the native horses of Scotland, nor those of England, were of that size, shape, and vigour, which were the most highly valued in the war-horse: And the English, while they occasionally furnished the Scots with *war-horses*, were, themselves, obliged to import others, from time to time, out of *Lombardy* and *Spain*. The merchants of *Genoa* and of *Flanders* furnished to the Scots, their surest supplies of arms and provisions, through all their difficulties, and wars of this period. To purchase these supplies, it is probable, that the Scots stripped themselves of all their gold and silver, and of every exchangeable article, of value, and not of primary utility, which they possessed. The  
*pearls*

*pearls* of their rivers, and their wool, hides, and salted fish; would be very insufficient to pay for all the imports which their necessities demanded. Edward laboured, in vain, to hinder the Flemings and the Genoese from carrying on any traffic with the Scots, while they should continue to resist his usurpation: The spirit of commerce knows how to elude the threats and restraints of despotic power: The Earl of Flanders answered to Edward's warm remonstrances, that his sea-ports were free to the merchants and sailors of all nations: The citizens of Genoa, and of some of the Flandrian free towns, pretended to comply with Edward's requests, and to refuse all future commercial intercourse with the Scots; but do not appear to have denounced any severe penalties against any from among themselves who might still find it profitable to trade to Scotland\*.

In this Age, the merchants of Germany and Italy, engrossed the traffic of almost all Europe. While Europe had sunk into poverty and barbarism; civility, and its attendants, opulence and industry, still fondly lingered in the capital of the

\* Ayloff's Calendar of Ancient Charters, P. 128:—Rymer's *Fœdera*, II. 1052:—III. 11, 12. 104. 124. 215. 233. 386, 387. 394. 402, 403, 404. 565. 647. 760. 766. 770. 879. 894:—Fordun. XII. 3:—Blind Harry *passim*:—Barbour, *passim*.

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Italian
States.

the Lower Greek Empire, and here and there, around the coasts of the Mediterranean sea. By intercourse with the Greeks of Constantinople; by the natural advantages of their own local-situation, encouraging them to industry and commerce; by the necessary effects of the Papal establishment, which drained the wealth of the world into Italy and Rome: The Italian states and free towns, seated contiguous to the Adriatic, became commercial, industrious, and opulent; while the Greek Empire hastened to final ruin; and before the free mercantile towns on the more northern coasts of Europe, had arisen to any considerable wealth or distinction. The Moors of Spain, for a time, divided with the Italians, the commerce with the East. But, while these last, gradually declined before the prevailing valour of the Spanish Christians; the navigation, and the transference of money and other wealth, demanded by the *Crusades*; gave a new impulse to the trade of Italy. Of all that Europe wasted in pursuit of conquests in the Holy Land, the only portion which was not wholly lost, appears to have been gained by the Italians. They became the only great merchants and bankers of Europe. They spread themselves through all its kingdoms and states, in the prosecution of their traffic. All remittances of money, from one country to another, were commonly made through their hands; for the practice of *exchange*, was already

Bills of

Exchange.

ready

ready well understood in Europe; and kings and ^{SECT. II.} states were accustomed to forbid the transference of money out of their respective dominions, otherwise than by *bills of exchange*. The Genoese especially, at one time, nearly monopolized the *carrying trade* among the middle and southern European nations. The revenues of Edward the Second, were, for a time, farmed, throughout all his dominions in France, England, and Scotland, by the FRISCOBALDI, a company of merchants belonging ^{The Frisco-} to Florence. Some misunderstanding having arisen ^{baldi.} between these men and Edward; they abruptly deserted his service, and stole privately out of his dominions, without having obtained his approbation and discharge of their accounts. His anger and revenge pursued them to Italy, and to the Papal Court; where one of the partners, was, at Edward's request, seized and cast into confinement. But, they had not, as it should seem, greatly injured or defrauded the English King; for, he was easily induced to forgive them, and to declare, that he wished not the prisoner to undergo any corporal punishment. The BARDI were another com-^{The Bardi.}pany of Italian merchants, employed in the receipt and disbursement of Edward's revenues, during some part of the time, while he was at war with the Scots*.

EVEN

* Verri, *passim*:—Muratori:—Rymer's *Fœdera* II. 1042. III. 12. 104. 108. 362. 565. 569. 605. 647. 894, &c. &c.

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Trade of
France,
Flanders,
and Ger-
many.

EVEN before this time, however, the inhabitants of the sea-port-towns of France, Flanders, and Germany, had begun to share the trade of Europe, with the Italians. The Flemings performed, in respect to the northern countries, as much as was done by the Italian traders, in regard to the middle, and the southern kingdoms. With Britain, and especially with Scotland, they began to carry on a greater traffic, than the merchants of perhaps any other nation. When the Danish and Norwegian pirates ceased from their ravages; the Flemish and German merchants had begun to navigate these seas, with views of peaceful commerce. The English and the Scots possessed not even the exclusive carrying traffic of their own raw commodities. The mercantile navigators of Portugal, were not unknown in these northern seas; although their trade were confined chiefly to the coasts of the Mediterranean. Italy was still the principal seat of all manufactures for merchandize.—And such seems to have been, about this time, the general state of commerce and industry in the maritime countries of Europe*.

Staple
towns.

Towns of *staple*, markets, fairs, and the meetings of the people upon the holidays of the Church, afforded the necessary opportunities for the transactions of commerce. The *towns of staple*, were those towns to which; by the permission of the
I
sovereigns,

* Fædera II. 1052. III. 70. 108. 215. 386-7. 402-3-4. 760. 770.

sovereigns, within whose dominions the towns respectively stood; and by agreement among the merchants themselves; the merchants of different nations were accustomed to resort for the sale and the purchase of certain, known commodities. One town was the *staple** for wool; another, for wines. It was thus known among the merchants of Europe, where each particular article of merchandize was to be bought or sold; and the *staple* town for any commodity, was, of consequence, frequented by all who wished to traffic in that commodity. The Kings of Europe, contended, who should most successfully allure the merchants to fix the principal *staple* of their trade within his dominions: For, *taxes of custom* were always levied, for the use of the sovereign of a *staple*-town, upon all the goods brought into it: And the free merchants were wont, themselves, to fix their own place of *staple*, wherever they could the most conveniently meet, and could obtain the most secure protection, for the lightest expence of taxation. Berwick appears to have been, about this time, the ordinary *staple*-town for the sale of the wool, and other exports of Scotland. When the Scots and the English were mutually at peace; the former were sometimes permitted to carry their wool, for sale, to the same *staple*-town within the French dominions of the English Kings, which was frequented by the latter. The state of the mercantile intercourse of the Scots

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R r

with

* *Staple*, by corruption perhaps from *stabile* emporium.

SACT. II. with foreign nations, was, in this period, considerably influenced by the arrangements of the merchants and the sovereigns on whom they depended, concerning the *staple*-towns. **Markets.** *Markets* were still almost exclusively confined in Scotland, to the royal or baronial burgh; were protected by the rulers of the burgh; and afforded, by taxes levied upon the sales made in them, a constant revenue to those, under whose immediate authority they were held. **Fairs.** *Fairs*, were originally pious assemblies of the people, on holidays of the Church; but had gradually become periods of traffic and riotous festivity; and were still celebrated under the authority of the Clergy, to whom they afforded a source of income, far from inconsiderable. Beside these, almost every religious holiday was more or less profaned to the purposes of traffic. At the *staple*-towns, the affairs of foreign trade, were transacted: The *markets* served, more particularly, for the ordinary buying, selling, and barter of commodities, which were continually necessary among the inhabitants of the country: At the *fairs*, the commodities imported, were distributed through the land; and those things which could be spared for exportation, were, in return, collected for this use. The same circumstances which held the Scots, during this period, involved in constant wars; necessarily interrupted, in a great degree, that increase of their wealth, that excitement of their industry, that civilization of their manners; which

which must otherwise have been produced by the ^{SECT. II.} transactions, and the intercourse of foreign and domestic trade*.

MANKIND have rarely existed together in society, in a state of such rude simplicity, as to want the use of *measures* to enable them to distinguish the relative quantities of the surfaces of material bodies; or of *weights* by which they might ascertain the comparative gravities of different pieces of matter. Without *weights* and *measures*, even the imperfect ^{Weights and Measures.} commerce of general barter, could not be long carried on. In all ages of the world, and among almost all nations, there have been certain *weights* and *measures* employed; which seem to have been generally borrowed from those gravities, those extents of surface, and those capacities of hollow vessels, which occurred the most constantly to familiar observation. From the Greeks and the ^{Natural standards of superficial measure:} Romans, do the barbarian ancestors of the inhabitants of modern Europe, appear to have derived those standards of *weight* and *measure*, which, with some combinations, subdivisions, and other varieties, we still continue to employ. And, the length of the foot; the breadth of the thumb; the span of the hand; the length from the elbow, to the tip of the middle finger; that from the peak of the shoulder, to the same extremity of the hand; the

* L. L. Burgorum:—Ayloff's Calendar, P. 143:—Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. III. 104:—Barbour:—Fordun:—Blind Harry:—Statuta Roberti I. &c.

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Of cubic
measure :

Of weight.

the expanse of the out-stretched arms ; the stride of the legs, in walking ; all, *measures* of length and distance, continually before the eyes ; have been naturally assumed, and are still applied as the most convenient subdivisions of lineal surface ; under the appellations of *foot, inch, span, cubit, ell, fathom, pace*. The minuter measures of lineal surface, are but subdivisions ; the ampler, combinations ; of these primary ones. Measures of *solid* or *liquid contents* ; such as the *pint, the quart, the gallon, the bushel* ; appear to have had their origin in the forms and capacities of the vessels in common use among the people, by whom these distinctions of cubic measure, were first adopted. A *grain* of corn ; a *stone* picked up from among those which were the most common in the field ; that *mass* which the human arm could, not by a flight, and yet without a strained exertion, raise from the ground ; these were probably some of the first natural means employed for the discrimination of *weights* ; from which, by combination, by subdivision, by imitation ; by a thousand various ways, accidental or artificial ; almost all the other known denominations of weight, have been gradually derived. Scarcely had the Barbarian conquerors of the *Roman Empire* learned the familiar use of the Roman weights and measures, at the time when they accomplished their own establishment upon its ruins. But, the ancient inhabitants were not every

every where exterminated: The eastern empire SECT. II. survived the fall of the western, until after that thick darkness of ignorance and barbarism, which for a while hovered over the kingdoms of Europe, had begun to be dispelled: The commerce of the southern countries of Europe, among themselves, and to the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean sea, was never wholly interrupted: The Clergy, amidst the overthrow and fall of the Roman Empire, were enabled to preserve their possessions, privileges, and modes of life, in a great measure, unviolated. By Origin of the weights and measures of modern Europe. all these means co-operating, the Roman and Grecian *weights* and *measures*, were, with some variety of modifications, retained in the commerce of the modern Europeans. They were, however, diversified by the influence of circumstances peculiar, respectively, to each commercial nation; and this, in regard as well to the magnitude of the natural and standard weights and measures, as in the various combinations and subdivisions of these standards. They were introduced by the commercial nations into the less industrious and more barbarous countries, to which these traded. As the Italians, the French, or the Flemings, were the people who traded chiefly into this or that country; the weights and measures of one or another of those mercantile nations, became, here or there prevalent. Commodities imported into any country, at the first, by one or another commercial people, usually continued to be, ever after, weighed out, and

SECT. II. and distributed by those divisions of weight which the merchants who first imported them had employed.

British
weights

Sterling.

IN Britain, the French and Flemish weights obtained the most general reception. The STERLING weight was, about this period, the standard of weight, both in England and Scotland, at least for almost all the more valuable substances which were weighed in commerce. By the principle and combinations of this standard of weight; thirty-two smooth, unbearded *grains* of wheat, composed what was called one *pennyweight*; twenty *pennyweights* made one *ounce*; twelve ounces, one *pound*; eight pounds, one *gallon*; eight gallons, one *busbel*; eight bushels one *quarter*; four quarters, one *ton*. Of the origin of the name of this species of weights, no very probable account can be given. STERLING seems to have been, from the first, a denomination, not of *coin*, but simply of *weight*: and the least absurd of the opinions concerning it, is undeniably that which represents it, as having been assumed to indicate the *eastern* local situation of the people from whom the weight had been borrowed. For weighing grosser commodities, such as salt and wool, the *Trone* weight, already known in Scotland, seems to have been now the most commonly used. In measuring the *contents of vessels*, the *gallon of wine*, considered first as a *weight*, was taken also as a *measure*; and from this principle, other

measures, whether of *dry* or *liquid* contents, were SECT. II. deduced with a due respect to correspondent *weight*. We have had occasion to find *quarts*, *gallons*, and *tons* of wine mentioned, in the progress of the history of the present period. Wine and ale were almost the only liquids that were carefully distributed out by measure. Grain and flour or meal, whether distributed by weight or by measure, were now more commonly divided according to the proportions of the *Trone*, than by those of the genuine *Sterling* standard. The *Trone stone-weight* Trone. was nearly equal to half the *Sterling* bushel; the *peck* of the former, to the bushel of the latter; the *Trone* *bell* of eight pecks, to the *Sterling* quarter; the *Trone chaldron* of eight bolls, to two *Sterling* tons. The *Sterling* appears to have been the most ancient weight known in these countries; but by the influence of the Flemings upon every thing connected with trade, in Scotland, the *Trone* weight had now begun to be preferred here; while the old *Sterling* proportions were still retained in England*.

THE *square*, or simply *longitudinal* measures now Scottish applied, among the Scots, to the mensuration of measures of super- the surface of the ground, were, in the chief in-stances. stances,

* *Regiam Majestatem*, in variis locis :—*Rastell's Collection* of the English Statutes, under the article *weights and measures*:—*Minshew*, *Watts*, and *Skene*, under the word *Sterling*:—*Anderson's Diplomata*, Pl. 24. 25:—*Fœdera* III. 16. &c. &c.

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Measure-
ment of
lands.

stances, inaccurately the same as those which had been employed by the ancient Romans. The *mile* was a thousand paces; but these, for the most part, only guessed at; rarely or never ascertained by actual measurement. The *rood* consisted of eighteen square feet; the *acre*, of four roods. Lands were also divided or estimated by more careless and indistinct measurement and computation; distributing them into *plough-gangs*, *merk-lands*, *pound-lands*, *crofts*. The *plough-gang* was that extent of arable ground which might be tilled with a single plough, within the ordinary, annual season of ploughing: The *merk-land* was that extent of ground which afforded from the free farmer to the proprietor of the soil, a rent of one merk in money: A *pound-land*, was so much as was estimated at the money-rent of one pound. Such measurements and computations were necessarily uncertain and inaccurate. But, greater accuracy was not demanded for the division of lands which were naturally unfertile, and had been, as yet, but little cultivated. Value is nicely estimated, only where it is wanted, or where it is fondly accumulated. Wide in proportion to the number of its inhabitants; producing naturally little for their sustenance; seemingly incapable of being brought to produce more, by any industry which they could exercise upon it: The territory of Scotland was not of such importance in the system of life which the people pursued, as to require more skilful and assiduous

fiduous pains to be now employed in dividing, and ^{SECT. II.} occasionally measuring it out. The lands divided into small portions, among the burgesſes of the towns; the rich fields occasionally acquired by the Clergy; the arable grounds in general; might be partly measured, or might have their extent incor- rectly gueſſed at; for the reſt of the territory, the ſame care could hardly be deemed neceſſary*.

COIN, although uſeful only as a conveniently portable and transferable ſign of value, was, at this time, an object of extremely anxious, public care, among all the nations of Europe. The metals ſuitable for coinage, are but few. Several of the mines in theſe weſtern regions, out of which the ancients had been ſupplied with the precious metals, were now exhausted, impoverished, or neglected. Here and there, indeed, gold was ſtill collected in grains among the ſands of ſome rivers which robbed the mountains of their treaſures: Aſia and Africa afforded ſome portions of gold and ſilver, which the accidents of war and commerce, gradually tranſmitted into theſe European countries: That abundance of gold and ſilver, which had been once diffuſed throughout the Roman Empire, was not yet wholly waſted or loſt. But,

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* Anderson's *Diplomata*, Plates 24. 25; in which are mentioned *æra*,—*marcates*,—*Libratarum*,—*toſtam*; in which alſo it is ſaid *Tboraldus archidiaconus metas finierit*,—*antea menſurata fuit*, of a field:—Ayloffe's *Calendar*, P. 114:—Rymer's *Fœdera*, II. 1020.

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all these resources for the subjects of coinage, were so scanty; that the quantity of gold and silver, in the circulation of traffic, had been long becoming continually less and less. Much of those quantities of the precious metals, which were actually possessed in Europe, was withheld from the uses of trade, by private avarice, fear and ignorance. The terrors of war and unstable government, the impostures of priestcraft and the absurd follies of superstition, withdrew from time to time, large portions of that coin and bullion which had been once actually poured into the mazy channels of commerce; and hid them uselessly in the earth, or vainly consecrated them at idolatrous shrines and altars. Yet, still these precious metals appeared to be omnipotent over the uses and the necessities of life: Their scarcity, and their factitious value, gave them an importance greater than was attributed to almost any other commodity.

Scottish
Coins.

As yet, there had been no coins of gold struck in Scotland. Silver was the only metal employed in the Scottish coinage. This silver was alloyed with a small proportion of copper, which served to give it the necessary degree of hardness. Of the different coins, struck at the command of Alexander the Third, or of the Kings who were his predecessors; a considerable quantity, which had been neither destroyed nor exported, still remained within the kingdom. But, these became gradually
more

more and more scarce. Want of new coins for ^{SECT. II.} the purposes of traffic, or perhaps the acquisition of some extraordinary quantities of bullion, produced, from time to time, a necessity for successive new coinages. John Balliol, even during his short, feeble, and inglorious reign, coined silver pennies of the same weight and purity, as those coined by his predecessors. Almost all the Scottish coin was, during the subsequent wars, either carried away by the English spoilers, or paid to strangers for those arms and provisions which were imported to supply the necessities of the Scots fighting for their freedom. New materials for coinage, were, however, obtained from the spoiling of the English, at the battle of Bannockburn, and upon various other occasions. Robert Bruce, accordingly, exercised, among the other rights of royalty, that of issuing a new coinage. His coins were silver pennies, of the same purity of metal, as those of his predecessors, but somewhat lighter in weight; and groats equally of silver, and each, twice the weight and nominal value of the penny. Out of eleven ounces and two penny-weights of pure silver, alloyed with eighteen penny-weights of copper; former monarchs of Scotland had been accustomed to coin only two hundred and forty pennies: But, out of the same quantity of silver, mingled with the same proportion of the baser metal, Bruce, on account, most probably, of the scarcity of silver, now commanded no fewer than two hundred and fifty-two pennies

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to be coined. By this diminution of the intrinsic value of the coin, the royal treasury, and those through whose hands, the new coinage *first* passed into the circulation of trade, would necessarily be gainers. For the *new* and lighter penny, *they* would be able to purchase, within Scotland, the same quantity of any commodity, as for the weightier *old* penny; while strangers would not accept the new coin in payment, otherwise, than with a due allowance for its diminished weight. But, the difference between the intrinsic worth of the new, and that of the old penny, would, by degrees, come to be universally distinguished; and the current value of the former in commerce, would then fall, of course, to the proportion of the silver which it contained. It is probable, that the frequent intercourse, amicable and commercial, which the Scots carried on, during the reign of Robert Bruce, with the French and the Germans, might first suggest to them the idea of coining *groats*; a species of coin, at this time, unknown, in England. Formerly the commercial dealings of the Scots, had been more with the English, than with any other nation; and therefore English money alone, had then been imitated in the Scottish coinage. Since, in consequence of their wars with the English, during the present period, the Scots had with them little traffic, in comparison with what was now carried on, from France and Flanders, to Scotland; it was natural that the Scottish money should now

groats.


be

be modelled rather after the fashion of the money ^{SECT. II.} of those nations, between whom and the Scots, the chief payments of money in which these last had a concern, were to be given or received*.

STERLING, originally the distinction of a standard ^{*Sterling,*} of weight, only, had been, by an easy transi- ^{considered} tion, ^{as a deno-} communicated also to a coin. For some time im- ^{mination} ^{of coin.} mediately previous to the accession of the Norman Princes to the English throne, silver bullion had been weighed out, in England, to the coiners by *Sterling* weight; and the configuration and impressions which they gave to their coins, were intended to indicate, respectively, not only the purity, but the certain *Sterling* weight of each particular piece. About the time of the accession of the Norman Princes to the sovereignty of England, the weight which had been commonly used at the city of *Troyes* in France, was adopted to regulate the coinage of England. The artists employed in executing this coinage, being now commonly Frenchmen, as well as the sovereigns by whose authority it was struck; nothing could be more natural, than that the weight with which both the one and the other were best acquainted in its application to money, should now be preferred to that which had been hitherto used in the Anglo-Saxon

* Anderson's *Diplomata*:—Cardonnel's *Numismata Scotica*:—Snelling's *Scottish silver coins*:—Ruddiman's *Introduction to the Diplomata*, &c. Specimens of the coins are preserved, and have been submitted to my inspection.

SECT. II.

 Saxon coinage. But the denomination of *Sterling* remained, after the thing which it originally and properly signified, had been lost. Applied to English money, it, from this time, signified, only that this money was of the legal standard, authorized by the command of the King, and the sanction of the legislature. The first Scottish coins were framed in imitation of those of England. The first coiners employed by the Scottish Kings, appear to have been Frenchmen. Hence, while the *Troyes* weight, was made use of, in weighing out the silver for coinage, and in regulating the quantity of metal in each piece of coin; the name of *Sterling*, was, at the same time, applied to the *Scottish* coinage, with the same inaccuracy and change of signification with which it continued to be used in distinguishing the money of England. It was soon to be confined exclusively to the English coin, in consequence of the debasement and diminution of the Scottish standard*.

Proportion between money and the necessities of life.

THE value of the money of this period, in commerce, is ascertained by the recorded prices of some of those commodities which must have been primary necessities for subsistence. A hen was valued in the reign of John Balliol, at the price of an

* Compare the *Statute* of Edward the First, on coinage, with the different opinions concerning the origin of the term *Sterling*; with what is known concerning the Saxon money; and particularly, with what is stated above, concerning the *Sterling* weight.

an halfpenny. A gallon and a half of ale, were ^{SECT. II.} sold for one penny. The mediate income to the clergyman of a parish, was, at this time, ten *merks* of silver; the merk being equivalent to two-thirds of a pound. Such was the abundance of French wines brought into Scotland by the English, that, in the year one thousand three hundred and three, as we have already seen, a gallon of Gascon wine was sold at Perth, then occupied by an English garrison, for the price of fourpence. Twenty shillings a week, was the sum allowed to Elizabeth, the queen of Robert Bruce, during her captivity in England, for the sustenance of herself and her servants. For the maintenance of sixty men at arms, Edward the Second allotted to John de Bretagne, the daily sum of ten merks, while de Bretagne acted as his Lieutenant in the government of Scotland. The dowry of the Princess Margaret, married to King Eric of Norway, was fourteen thousand merks Sterling. Lamber-ton, Bishop of St Andrew's, during his imprisonment in the castle of Winchester, had an allowance of sixpence a day for his own personal expence; three pence a day, for his servant; one penny one farthing a day, for a boy to attend him; and one penny one farthing to a chaplain, to say mass daily in his chamber. Two hundred pounds Sterling was the estimated value of a cargo of wool, embarked on board a vessel of moderate size*.

BUT

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, II. 938. 1016. III. 11. II. 1079. III. 362 :—Fordun.—Ruddiman's Introduction to Anderson's *Diplomata*, &c.

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Proportion between the Sterling money of the fourteenth, and that of the eighteenth century.

BUT in the coinage of Scotland, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, only twenty or twenty-one shillings were coined out of the pound *Troyes*, of fine silver: And in the end of the eighteenth century, in which this work is written, sixty-three shillings of lawful Sterling money of Great Britain, are coined out of the pound *Troyes* of silver, of equal fineness. The shilling of Scottish money, was therefore, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, equal to thrice the weight of a British shilling of the eighteenth century; the Scottish penny of the former period, to three pence of the Sterling British money of the latter period. The hen for which an halfpenny of the coin of that age, was paid in the beginning of the thirteenth century, would have then cost three halfpence of our present money. The Bishop of St Andrew's's daily allowance of sixpence, contained as much silver, as do three of our modern sixpences. And, since a fowl which would now cost a shilling of modern British money, or four silver pennies of the ancient money of Scotland, might, about the year thirteen hundred, be purchased for the eighth part of that sum; every Scottish penny must then have equalled, in its actual power over the necessities of life, the quantity of power over these, which is now conferred by the possession of twenty-four pence or two shillings of modern British coin. Besides, the quantity of the accommodations of life, required or enjoyed by each individual, of whatever

whatever condition in society, was then so much SECT. II. smaller, and more simple, than any individual in the same situation, would now, unavoidably consume; that the same penny of the coinage of John Balliol or Robert Bruce, which, in its power to purchase the necessaries of life, appears to have been equal to the present power of twenty four pence of our present money; was, in truth, for the support of the general œconomy of life, equivalent, at least, to three times that sum, or to the uses of six shillings of the English coin of the end of the eighteenth century. A coinage of one thousand pounds, would then adequately perform the same functions in ordinary commerce, which seventy two thousand pounds sterling are now requisite to fulfil. Little wealth was, as yet, accumulated in the country; the productive and commercial industry exerted to augment it, was, as yet but small: And even the moderate quantity of coined silver, then possessed in Scotland, was therefore equal, or nearly equal, to all the demands of traffic.

SUCH, then, was the state of all the arts of industry and traffic in Scotland, during the period which extended from the death of Alexander the Third, to the death of Robert Bruce. Husbandry was not improved: Architecture and the other arts of domestic accommodation, appear to have rather receded, than advanced: In the practice of war alone, the Scots of this age, became, under

SECT. II.

the necessary influence of the circumstances in which they found themselves placed, more illustrious than any of their ancestors, or any contemporary neighbouring nation. The commerce of the Scots of this period, was not absolutely enlarged: But, being excluded from their ordinary trading intercourse with the English, they were driven to seek those necessities which they wanted, by a traffic with the merchants of Germany, France, and Italy, in which they might, otherwise, not have so eagerly, or so extensively engaged. In every country, from the time when it is first occupied by human inhabitants, till these attain their utmost pitch of opulence and civilization; there is a continual accumulation of the works of human industry, and of those productions which nature is taught to yield, under the direction of men. War, tempests, famine, or pestilence may, for a season, blast the fertility of nature; frustrate the hopes and labours of man; occasion an enormous waste of those productions of nature and the arts which have been gradually accumulated around him, and in his hands. But, the ancient wealth is never so entirely destroyed, as not to leave the country which has been once possessed and cultivated, more suitable for the future accommodation of men, than if it had never before been subjected to occupancy or culture. There was in this period, therefore, a much greater quantity of useful wealth in Scotland, than in the days of Malcolm Canmore,

The increase of wealth happens necessarily in all inhabited countries.

Canmore, or of any monarch that reigned in Scotland, before the time of Alexander the Third. SECT II.
 All the ravages of the wars with the English, could not utterly destroy more than a third or a fourth part of that accumulated wealth. While the rage and violence of those wars, was, in the latter years of Bruce's reign, gradually more and more relaxed; the wasted wealth and population of Scotland, began to be repaired; and it is probable, that, at the time of Robert Bruce's death, the general wealth of the Scots, in houses, cattle, armour, raiment, stores of provisions, cultivated lands, money, and utensils, was not greatly inferior to what it had been, at the accession of Margaret of Norway.

III. *KNOWLEDGE* and opulence do not indeed advance, hand in hand, nor always with equal steps. KNOWLEDGE.
 Yet, they, to such a degree, influence one another, in their progress among mankind; that, a people eminently enlightened by knowledge, can hardly ever fail to have made great progress in the practice of all the arts, and to have accumulated many of their productions: while, on the other hand, real wealth, consisting of abundance of the necessities, and refined and complex conveniencies of life, can never be possessed with full utility, by any nation which is not considerably distinguished for profound and elegant science. . With the augmented wealth, the enlivened industry, the extended commerce of the Scots; the common mass of KNOWLEDGE advances with the increase of wealth, and the improvement of industry.
 their

SECT. II.

their knowledge was unavoidably increased. The experience of prior generations, although imperfectly handed down, was, however, not wholly lost, to their successors: And the children still added something from their own observation and experience, when they taught to the grand-children, what they had themselves learned from their fathers. It is in the known course of nature, that, where extraneous causes do not intervene, to break the ordinary series of events; every people usually increase in knowledge, and advance in civilization, in proportion as their national establishment is maintained for a longer, and still a longer duration of years. In this period, the Scots were called into great transactions, and were urged to an expansion of their faculties, and to an alert, vigorous exertion of all their powers; in consequence of which, they necessarily became more enlightened than their forefathers.

Know-
ledge of
material
nature.

WITH the variations in the course of the seasons of the year; with the diversified phænomena of the winds, rains, and snows, and of all those bodies which compose, or fluctuate in, the atmosphere; with the motions of the stars, the observation of which, was necessary, not less to guide their nocturnal excursions amidst trackless woods, and over heath-covered hills, than to direct the course of their navigation on the deep; with the tides on their shores; with the natural productions, and the

the exterior aspect of their country; the Scots of ^{SECT. II.} this age, had become better acquainted than their predecessors. The knowledge connected with ^{Improving} every different mode of life, and with the ^{Abstrac-} practice of each separate art, was now formed into something like *system*, in the minds, of those who followed or exercised it. By the husbandman, the nature of grains and soils, the changes of the weather, the laws of the seasons, the use of agricultural implements, the management of flocks and herds; were regarded, not as a multitude of insulated, independent facts; but, in combination, and as conjoined by relations consecutive or collateral. All the bearings and the ties, the connexions and the dependencies of all the rules, appearances, and events in rural œconomy, were indeed, far from being completely known to the Scottish peasant of this age. But, he viewed those facts which were within his knowledge, not without some share of philosophical discrimination, unconsciously exerted. It was so, also, with the mason, the smith, the artisan of whatever mechanical art. Man can, at no time, contemplate nature, or mingle in the scenes of life, without feeling his mind, even insensibly impelled to compare, to abstract, and to generalize. The elements of what is called philosophy, are discernible in the reasonings and practices even of savages, in those prudential maxims which are proverbially repeated
among

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among the vulgar of all nations, in the rules and methods of the most illiterate mechanic. Whenever we attempt to trace an unseen connexion between any two known facts, we then philosophize. It is in degree, not in kind, that the knowledge of the most profound and ingenious philosopher, differs from that of the ignorant peasant; the literature and science of the most enlightened of polished nations, from the proverbs, tales, and customs of the rudest barbarian tribe. Whatever knowledge the Scots of the age of Robert Bruce, had, of the appearances and laws of material nature, was indeed defective chiefly in the uncertainty of its particulars, and in its want of generalization and system: But, even of general, abstract principles, it was not wholly destitute: And the observation and reflection of every successive generation, were continually multiplying and extending these scientific principles.

Military
Know-
ledge.

In the *arts of war*, we have seen, that the skill of the Scottish Nation was mightily improved, while they fought under Wallace and Bruce. That discipline which, alone, can give due effect to armed valour; that armour, without which valour is necessarily feeble, and discipline useless; that fertility of stratagem, which is the happiest of all resources amid the perils and chances of warfare; that wisdom in the choice of the fittest times for military

tary expeditions, of the most advantageous situations for encampment, of the most convenient lines of march, which is one of the highest qualities of able generalship ; All that implies masterly and systematic skill in military affairs ; has appeared among the Scots of this period in the utmost perfection that was, in any degree compatible with the miserable want and distress to which they were reduced. Never before this time, did the Scottish rulers fully understand and regularly execute the best plan of resistance to a formidable invasion ; that of laying waste the country before the invaders, and retiring, to leave desolation and hunger, to fight their battles. *Artillery* alone ; but about this time first invented, and not yet generally used or known ; could effectually batter those fortifications which the military architecture of this Age, was skilled to erect. But, during their wars under Bruce and Wallace, the Scots acquired all that skill in conducting sieges, which was compatible with the nature of the fortifications, and of the battering engines then in use. And, it was no inconsiderable knowledge of the laws of gravity, motion, and projection ; of the mechanical powers of matter ; and especially of the qualities of the human character ; which such skill implied.

Was it possible that the Scots should not become more skilful in the *principles of commerce, and navigation ;*

SECT. II. *navigation ; and better acquainted with the circum-*
 ~~~~~  
 Commer- *stances, arts, and manners of foreign nations ; in con-*  
 cial Know- *sequence of the naval expeditions, and of the com-*  
 ledge. *mmercial intercourse with Germany, France, and*  
*Italy, to which the hostility of England now ne-*  
*cessarily drove them ? The maritime and commer-*  
*cial knowledge of the Flemings, the French, and*  
*the Genoese, was unavoidably communicated, in*  
*part, to the Scots ; while during these wars, the*  
*Scots sold to those nations, all their superfluities,*  
*and fought from them, all their supplies.*

The wars *IN times of general opulence and civility, when*  
 of this pe- *the arts of peace are diligently and successfully cul-*  
 riod, fa- *tivated ; wars and public commotions, arising, ne-*  
 vourable *ver fail to arrest the advancement and the diffu-*  
 to the im- *sion of almost all useful knowledge. But, the sa-*  
 provement *vage, unless when at war, or on the chace, sinks*  
 of the *into the torpor of those brute animals which sleep*  
 knowledge *during the months of winter : The barbarian, def-*  
 of the *titute of all but military virtues, endures with im-*  
 Scots. *patience, a season of peace, and wastes it in riot*  
*and crimes. To a people, therefore, who are as*  
*yet, in a state of barbarism, the season of war, of*  
*political convulsion, of public danger, is the only*  
*season of the improvement of knowledge, and of*  
*the invigoration and expansion of mind. The*  
*soul is then violently roused to put forth all its fa-*  
*culties ; invention becomes vivid, and elastic ; the*  
*experience*

experience of a single year employed in the enter-<sup>SECT. II.</sup>  
 prizes of war, is more than equal to the experience  
 of many years slumbered away in the lethargy of  
 peace. Amidst those wars which threatened almost  
 to exterminate them from their land, the Scots  
 gained much more new knowledge of nature and  
 of life, than they could possibly have acquired  
 within the same period of public and domestic  
 tranquillity, unless their manners had been before  
 more perfectly civilized, and their industry more  
 alert and assiduous: In common life, adversity, so  
 often observed to be the best nurse of virtue, proves  
 such, only because, were it not for her pressure,  
 the season of exertion and improvement, might be  
 wasted in vice or folly. And, in the same manner,  
 the Scots of the Age of Bruce and Wallace, had  
 their minds much more enlarged by their warfare  
 with the English, than if they had then lived in  
 peace; not from any peculiar and necessary ten-  
 dency in war absolutely considered, rather than in  
 peace, to fill the soul with new knowledge; but  
 because, had it not been for the urgent impulse of  
 war, the time would have been spent, without ex-  
 ertion or improvement, by men who were still too  
 barbarous to engage spontaneously in the calm  
 pursuits of science or elegant art.



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Know-  
ledge  
more ge-  
nerally  
diffused  
among all  
ranks, at  
this time,  
than in  
any for-  
mer pe-  
riod.

NOT only was the knowledge of the Scottish nation, considerably augmented during these wars; but this knowledge was, at the same time, more generally diffused among all classes in the community, than it might otherwise have been. The priest and the layman, the baron and the servile peasant, were familiarly associated together, amid their common distresses and dangers. Rank was annihilated, in some measure, by the general calamity. The manners of the high, and those of the low, were assimilated by their mutual converse. All distinctions ceased, save those of valour, wisdom, and virtue. In these circumstances, that knowledge which was actually possessed in the nation, could not be easily confined to any one *cast* or class. While Priests and Bishops became warriours; the Knights and Barons shewed themselves, on various instances, to be not unacquainted with whatever was valuable in the little learning of the ecclesiastics. Peasants, emancipated from the servility of their native condition, successfully aspired to emulate all the great qualities of the most illustrious of their Lords. At no former period in the history of the Scottish nation, had so many persons advanced themselves by generous exertion, from meanness to dignity; and this could happen, only in consequence of opportunities being afforded to the mean by the necessities of the times, through which they might acquire the same enlargement of mind

mind that distinguished those who were truly great. <sup>SECT. II.</sup>  
 Wallace himself rose from a condition, in which, in other times, he could hardly have acquired the great qualities he displayed. Several of his most faithful and most intelligent friends and followers, were men whose fathers had perhaps never been honoured with permission to bear arms. Amid the misfortunes of Edward Bruce's expedition into Ireland, Gilbert Harper, John Thomson, and others, who appear to have been of low, plebeian rank, distinguished themselves by heroism and enlightened prudence, scarcely inferior to the magnanimity and wisdom of Robert Bruce himself, and the most illustrious of his noble companions. Bunnock and French, in the capture of the castles of Edinburgh and Linlithgow, discovered a fertility of happy stratagem, such as only minds uncommonly vigorous and active, could be capable of. All these facts, and a multiplicity of others, concur to evince, that the same circumstances which, at this period, contributed to equal the peasants in danger and daring, with their Lords; served likewise to exalt many of them, to an equal pitch of knowledge and enlargement of mind\*.

IN this manner was the acquaintance of the Scots, contemporaries of Bruce and Wallace, with the general laws of material nature, enlarged with the improvement of their arts, and with the extension

Recapitulation concerning the knowledge of the Scots.

\* Barbour :—Blind Harry ; and Fordun. *passim*.

## SECT. II.

tion of their commercial intercourse with foreign nations : Their long struggles against English usurpation, tended to expand their minds, and to increase their knowledge, more rapidly, than if they had lived during the same time, in tranquil peace : The peculiar nature of those struggles served likewise to diffuse the knowledge of the community, more generally among all ranks, than could otherwise have happened : Nor was it, merely solitary facts, but infant science, which they knew : It was chiefly, in its connexion with the practice of war, navigation, and commerce, that their knowledge of material nature, was enlarged, during this period.

IN one science, of singular utility, to console and relieve the miseries of human life, these generous-minded Scots were hitherto, unfortunately, but little skilled. *Medicine*, more serviceable often by soothing and cheering the despondent imagination, than by the sanatory efficacy of the remedies which it exhibits ; was still almost wholly unknown and unpractised in Scotland. It had not yet become, in this land, the subject of a particular *profession*, in the distribution of the employments of social life. It was not illuminated by any accurate knowledge of the physiology, and internal structure of the human frame. The Clergy and the women exercised all that was known of surgery and medicine.

cine. Herbs, fancied to possess salutary virtues ; SECT. II.  
 mineral waters which were supposed to have been  
 endowed by Heaven, at the prayer of this or that  
 saint, with healing powers ; spells, and incantations  
 celebrated with all the mummary of heathenism,  
 but in the name of Christian saints ; and some other  
 practices, equally vain ; were almost all the means  
 which these people now knew to employ for the  
 cure of disease, or the invigoration of languishing  
 health. Some of their prescriptions were founded  
 upon the absurdities of judicial astrology ; others,  
 upon vain notions of the existence of mysterious  
 and universally healing virtues in certain natural  
 bodies, vegetable or mineral. Hospitals for the Hospitals,  
 reception of the poor and the diseased, were, here  
 and there, erected and endowed by the same pious  
 charity, which founded monasteries and convents ;  
 and were placed under the management, usually  
 of monks or secular ecclesiastics. *Surgery*, the Surgery.  
 practice of which was still more necessary than that  
 of *medicine*, in an Age of incessant war and blood-  
 shed ; could not be exercised with tolerable dexte-  
 rity and skill ; since the study of anatomy had not  
 yet been cultivated ; and since no very apt or de-  
 licate surgical instruments had, as yet, been fabri-  
 cated. The exercise of the healing arts, could  
 not fail to add much to that influence over the  
 minds of the people, which the Clergy derived  
 from their spiritual pretensions. And, amidst the  
 general

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general inutility of their medical precepts; it was, however, impossible, that there should not be some observations of discerning experience, and some sagacious, although simple, dictates of common sense, applied to the cure of diseases; such as might claim the approbation of judicious medical practitioners, in any age. *Nicholas de Tyncwick*, Physician to Edward the First of England, was a Priest, and was largely provided in benefices, by his royal patient. We know not whether Robert Bruce might be so fortunate as to have any eminent Physician to alleviate to him the distress of that leprous or scorbutic disorder which afflicted his latter years. We know, however, that his sentiments of benevolence and devotion under that affliction, led him to found a charitable institution for the benefit of poor lepers, at *Priestwick* near the town of Ayr\*.

Funda-  
mental  
principle  
of moral  
distinc-  
tions.

UPON the difference between *Existence* and *Non-existence*, depends the primary DISTINCTION between RIGHT and WRONG, between GOOD and EVIL. Whatever tends to produce, to preserve, or to exalt the perfection of, existence, is *Right* and *Good*: That, alone, is absolutely *evil*, which tends, directly and exclusively, to destroy or degrade some existing nature. Hence do mankind regard the DEITY, as a being whose acts and qualities have, all, the most powerful tendency to create new beings,

\* *Fœdera*:—Fordun.—Statistical Account of the Parish of Newton of Ayr, &c.

beings, or to preserve and improve the natures of <sup>SECT. II.</sup> those which he has already created. It is upon this same principle, that the utilities of society, truly or incorrectly discerned, have been ever held by legislators, and in the practice of common life, to be the only certain rules of moral judgment and obligation. No savages have ever existed, so rude, as to be ignorant of a distinction between the relative merits of actions and objects, as these appeared to be, respectively, more or less useful to the individual, and to the community. Amidst the refinements of vain philosophy, amidst even the extravagancies of fanaticism and superstition; it is still to the perhaps mistaken utilities of human nature, to the production and the preservation of existence, power, knowledge, and happiness; that every thing reckoned morally excellent, is ultimately referred for the explication of those relations on which its excellence depends. When the Priest talks of the *will*, and of the *favour*, or *anger* of his God; when the pretended philosopher harangues concerning *self-love*, *benevolence*, *truth*, or *propriety*, as the sole principle of human virtue; neither the one nor the other, so far as he understands himself, ever means, in reality, any thing else; than that sentiments, actions, and objects, which promote the general good of man, and of all nature, have the merits of virtue; and that reason, by the same discernment, by which it distinguishes

SECT. II.  tinguishes existence from non-existence, discriminates likewise those merits.

Progress  
of moral  
discern-  
ment.

*Moral Distinctions*, formed upon this grand principle alone, are usually corrected, multiplied, enlarged in men's minds; in proportion as their skill in the practice of the Arts, their knowledge of the laws of material nature, and their experience in social intercourse, are improved. As the comforts of civil life, the powers, the relations, and the fortunes of mankind, become better known; men learn to apply the principle of moral discrimination, with clearer intelligence, to a greater diversity of objects. Few and simple are the moral ideas of the savage. To his passions, not to his understanding, he owes whatever may appear greatly virtuous in his character. The barbarian, who has advanced some steps above the savage, in the ascent towards civility and illumination of mind; possesses principles of morality, more complex, and more extensive in their application: The tenor of his life, may not be always more virtuous; but, he can better discern, than the savage, between good and evil.

IN this period of their history, the Scots were still barbarians; but, barbarians, rather advancing onwards to civilization, than receding back to savage rudeness. Their notions of the nature and  
the

the obligation of the moral duties, were, generally <sup>SECT. II.</sup> clear, liberal, and correct. Of the rules of *justice* <sup>Justice.</sup> they seem to have been, in the beginning of this period, more uniformly observant, than at any former time. Robberies and thefts were now, comparatively, rare. A degree of domestic security, was enjoyed, which nothing could have effectually maintained, except a general conviction of the public and private utility of mutual honesty and forbearance. Since Galloway had been finally subdued; and the Hebudæ ultimately ceded by the Norwegian Kings; the unity of dominion, thus established throughout the Scottish territories, had greatly contributed to suppress rapine and injustice; and to make every individual in the nation, by consequence, still more and more sensible of the advantages of social order. Would any, but a people who knew to value aright the benefits of law, justice, and tranquillity, have so dreaded the wars and discords which threatened to arise, upon the death, first of Alexander the Third, and afterwards of his grandchild, Margaret of Norway? In the contentions for the succession to the throne, there was shewn a concern to preserve the rights of the lawful heir, which could arise only from a love of justice in the breasts of those whose private interests were not involved in the issue of the competition. The confidence with which the weak and humble occasionally appealed to the laws of their



SECT. II.

country, against the violence of haughty and potent oppressors; must have been encouraged by the growing authority of the laws. By that dissolution of law and order, which necessarily ensued during the struggles against English usurpation; reverence for private rights, was, indeed, for a while, smothered in every heart, by the overpowering predominancy of more ardent and tumultuous sentiments. Nakedness and hunger respect not the laws of property: Rapine and avarice are tempted to crimes above their ordinary daring, by that prospect of impunity, which seasons of civil discord and general calamity, seem to present. But, the success of their patriotic efforts, re-established the national independence of the Scots, and with it, the power of law and the sacred dignity of justice. Of public right and justice, the famous epistle from the Scottish Parliament to the Pope, is an illustrious proof, that they had conceived notions singularly liberal, clear, and correct. That epistle discovers its authors to have regarded the utility of social life, as the first principle of human virtue; and to have understood the laws of morality to be paramount to the dreams of superstition. It bespeaks a sense of the native freedom and independence of the human character, such as none but vigorous, ardent, and enlightened minds could conceive. It expresses a persuasion of the omnipotence of truth and virtue, as superior to all grandeur and authority, human or divine. The most sublime moralists of polished

polished antiquity, the most penetrating and com-<sup>SECT. II.</sup>prehensive minds among modern philosophers; have taught no moral principles more indisputably just, or more exalted; than those which were, in that epistle, asserted, with deeply impassioned feelings, by an assembly of rude, illiterate, Scottish warriors\*.

THOSE virtues which cannot be enforced, like obedience to the rules of distributive justice, by the sanction of human laws; are often the most congenial to the spirit of the rude barbarian. Although, in truth, enjoined, equally as the ordinarily acknowledged principles of equity, by the eternal laws of rectitude; they seem, however, at the first aspect, to be merely optional to man. In exercising them, he feels himself to exert a power, not to bow to a restraint. By the lofty, unbending mind, the duties of pity, <sup>Charity</sup> charity, fidelity, forbearance, are ardently embraced, at the very same time, when it scorns all human laws, and refuses submission to any earthly dominion. The fierce and stern Edward Bruce wept the fall of his friend Walter Ross in the battle of Bannockburn, with a tender sorrow of which his nature had been thought unsusceptible. Had Robert Bruce been willing to violate the truce granted by his brother, to the English garrison in Stirling-

\* The original Epistle is printed at it, full length, in the Appendix to this Volume.

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Stirling-Castle; instead of observing it with a sacred and honourable fidelity; he might probably have won the castle, without that mighty attempt being made from England to relieve it; which threatened to overthrow, for ever, the glory and independence of the Scots, in the field of Bannockburn. There was a generosity in the constant attachment of James Douglas to the interests of Bruce, which almost equals the most honourable friendship of the most illustrious heroes of any age. Except in the hottest rage of battle, Wallace, Bruce, Douglas, Randolph, and all the bravest men who fought with them, ever spared and protected the vanquished with an amiable humanity. Wallace, in many of his perils and escapes, was hospitably entertained, and faithfully concealed among the meanest of the people; who, if their souls had been capable of perfidy, might have earned wealth and honours, by betraying him. Prisoners of war, were now no longer doomed, in Scotland, to massacre or hopeless servitude: They were humanely treated; and if not dismissed without ransom, were reserved for redemption or exchange. Strangers who came not as enemies, were still sure to share the humble couch, and even his few last morsels of bread, with the Scottish peasant. Charity, not less than superstition, appears to have prompted the institution and endowment of many of those pious establishments, by which indeed the clergy alone, were

were ultimately enriched: Honour, truth, fidelity, <sup>Sect. II.</sup> mercy, magnanimous constancy, and fortitude, are virtues of which many conspicuous instances appear in the history of the Scots of this age\*.

THE factitious passion of *Patriotism*, is always <sup>Patriotism.</sup> eminently virtuous. It cannot exist in any mind, unaccompanied with a discernment of social good. It is an ardent apprehension of public utility; indentifying this utility, by an happy artifice of imagination, with whatever is powerfully obligatory in duty, or peculiarly grateful in private enjoyment. This sentiment can never be other than one of the noblest that swell the human heart. But, it may be more or less excellent; according as the people, the political constitution, the arts, the science, the manners of that community in whose favour it is felt, shall be more or less estimable and perfect. Sometimes, it is a transporting passion, guided by very little clear intelligence: At times, its object is not genuine public utility, but its mistaken semblance: The passion acts occasionally with such extravagance, as to pursue its object, through the violation of all other human obligations. In all these cases, the real excellence of the principle, is in some degree, impaired and degraded by errors of imagination, and an excess of emotion, which tend to make it useless or mischievous. Genuine patriotism prefers to all other objects

\* Fordun.—Barbour :—Blind Harry :—Fædera *passim*.

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objects of pursuit, the public good of that community to which the patriot belongs, so far only, as this can be actually promoted by his efforts, without the neglect of subordinate duties, or the commission of positive evil. Patriotism so pure and rational, is rarely felt among men.

By this virtue, however, above all others, were the Scots of this age, distinguished. Their country, and their fellow-countrymen were to them, in a manner, all the world. The narrowness of their acquaintance with mankind, and with the regions of the globe, tended to preserve a strong ardour in their attachment to one another, and to their native land. Having begun to feel the benefits of that civil order, which was maintained among them by the constitution of their government, and the authority of their monarchs; they were too much interested in those benefits, to relinquish tamely the establishment from which they arose. It was weakness, it was slavery, it was mean, not generous self-denial; the very ideas of which, are intolerable to the rude and ferocious mind; to subject their country to the dominion of England, and to suffer the very name of Scotland to be forgotten. These were the principles of their patriotism; nor was it the most pure and enlightened that we can conceive. Yet, how many illustrious deeds did it prompt? What an exalted elevation  
of

of character did it confer? Fear, hope, indignation, ambition, none of those emotions or passions, which almost invariably triumph over human virtue, whenever they assail it; could subdue the patriot ardour of Wallace. Even in the breasts of the meanest peasants, the same ardour burned. Bunnock, in taking the castle of Linlithgow, shewed himself no less a patriot and a hero, than did Bruce or Wallace in their most glorious enterprises. Even the women were passionately inspired with the same sublimely virtuous sentiment. The Countess of March resolutely defending the castle of Dunbar, the Countess of Buchan daringly setting the Crown on the head of Bruce; command all that admiration which is due to the most patriotic magnanimity. Graham perishing before Dunbar; Fleming and his comrades devoting themselves to death at Carrickfergus; the generous contests among the followers of Bruce and Wallace, who should undertake the boldest enterprises, and who should do the most to deliver his country? are such instances of patriot valour and virtue, as have rarely been exceeded in any other nation or age. The Clergy equalled the patriotism of the yeomanry and the nobles. They, who might have beheld the war, uninjured and unconcerned; shook off the robes of peace; assumed the weapons of war, and exposed their breasts to the foe; subjected their temples, castles, convents, and granaries,

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ries, to hostile spoliation ; and practised all those artifices which had been the appropriated engines for the defence of the interests of their order ; all, to preserve the freedom of their country, and the independence of its Crown. If this were not the sublime and godlike patriotisim of the perfectly wise and virtuous man ; it seems, however, to have been something calculated to serve the same purposes, nearly as well\*.

Recapitulation concerning the virtues of the Scots.

AT this time, then, the *moral knowledge* of the Scots ; wrought deeply into the national character, and best expressed in those virtues for which they were the most eminently distinguished ; appears peculiarly conspicuous in their increasing respect to justice, and love of order ; in the fidelity, the charity, the generous forbearance which they, almost universally exercised ; in that fond, enthusiastic patriotisim, which made them postpone all other cares and interests to the glory, the security, the freedom of their country. Courage ; that habitual sentiment, which is virtuous by contemning personal danger, in comparison with duty, honour, or the gratification of generous passion ; was the fundamental principle, in some sort, upon which depended all the other excellencies in the character of the Scots who were contemporaries and companions of Wallace and Bruce. In the other congenial virtues, they were not deficient.

BUT,

\* Eosdem quos supra.

BUT, man is ever a strange compound of know-ledge and ignorance, wisdom and folly, vice and virtue. Single out the worthy qualities in the character of any individual, he is an angel; view only his vices and follies, he seems a devil or a brute. Several of the darkest crimes of barbarians, much of the blind fury of the savage; marked the manners of those very Scots whose generous and enlightened virtues we have admired. Wallace is related by the minstrel of his fame, to have ferociously murdered *Fawdon*, one of the bravest and most faithful of his followers, upon no other provocation, than because *Fawdon's* strength failed him, and he could not, with sufficient velocity, attend his leader's flight, in a perilous escape. Horrible, beyond the most bloody practice of war, in more polished ages, were the cruelties often inflicted by the Scots, in their inroads into England. Even their patriotism can hardly afford a sufficient excuse for the perfidy with which Lamberton and Wisheart, the two Bishops of St Andrew's and Glasgow, violated their most solemn engagements to the English monarch. It should seem, that all the restraints of morality, of law, and of religion, must have been despised together, by Bruce and his associates, who assassinated Comyn, at a friendly conference, and in a holy place. Personal enmities, selfish views of private interest, and motives

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Vices of  
the Scots.



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Treachery,

of uncertain caprice, probably excited much of that opposition to the English, which operated with nearly the same efficacy as true patriotism, to preserve the independency of the Scottish nation. Amidst that suspension of the energy of government, and that relaxation of civil order, which took place, while it was undetermined, what new sovereign Scotland should obey; many enormous crimes were committed, which, in other times, could not have escaped condign punishment. From the fatal battle at Dunbar, in the year one thousand two hundred and ninety-five, a gallant Knight named Walter Seward, made his escape in company with a servant, who from infancy had been tenderly brought up in his house, and whom he regarded with high confidence and kindness. They had passed Musselburgh, on the way towards Edinburgh, when Seward began to lament to his servant, the fate of the battle from which they had escaped, the calamities of their country, the perfidy of many of their fellow-countrymen. His insidious follower pretended to listen with earnest sympathy. But, while the master, amidst this discourse, rode anxiously on before, the traitor eagerly imitating that perfidy which he had just seemed to detest, suddenly transfixed his good lord in the back with his spear; and then as he fell from his horse to the earth, stabbed him to the heart with his dagger. This base assassination was perpetrated  
at

at Redfigot (now *Friggat-Whins*?) and the body of <sup>SECT. II.</sup> the murdered Seward, was afterwards buried in the Abbey of the *Holy-Rood*. In their incursions into the northern provinces of England, the Scots are related to have massacred infants in the cradle, and women in child-bed; nay, to have even cut off the breasts of various women; and to have shut the doors upon the children at school, and then setting fire to the houses, to have thus burnt to death, hundreds of them together. Still, we can discern in the manners of the Scots, those two grand features of the barbarian character; a perpetual inclination to regard force, as the only measure of right; and a readiness to employ the darkest fraud to accomplish those purposes which there is not sufficient force, to effect. With these qualities, they display also, in many instances, an inconstancy of faith, and a levity of spirit, such as seem to be almost wholly incompatible with their distinguishing virtues. Chastity is rarely the virtue of soldiers, or of either sex in that society in which *soldiers*, and *priests* professing celibacy, are the most eminent classes. Edward Bruce, although married to the sister of the Earl of Athole, was passionately attached to the sister of his friend Walter Ross, with whom he held an adulterous commerce. The Countess of Buchan, who first set the Crown on the head of Robert Bruce, was suspected to have been actuated, on that occasion,

not

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Want of  
mutual  
confi-  
dence.

not less by a criminal passion for him whom the crowned, than by patriotism or party-spirit, Few of the Clergy, regular or secular, faithfully observed those vows of chastity, by which they all lightly engaged themselves. They were not ashamed to entertain mistresses openly; and to bring up, in the eye of the world, their families of illegitimate children. Envy and mutual distrust, were vicious sentiments which contributed greatly to confound and perplex the counsels of the Scots, during their contests with the English, in this period. Nothing but the disunion produced by mutual jealousy and distrust, seems to have prevented the first considerable army that was drawn together by Wallace, from defeating the English host at the river Irvine, or at least protracting the campaign, with advantage to themselves. That dark conspiracy against the authority and life of Bruce, which was fortunately detected through the indiscretion of the Countess of Strathern, seems another such unaccountable lapse from virtue, as that of the angels rebelling in heaven\*.

THESE, and other instances of vice, guilt, and folly, permit us not to contemplate the moral virtue and intelligence of the Scots of this age, with that high, unabated admiration, which their great qualities would, otherwise, have been sufficient to command. Such vices and crimes, however, with only

\* Fordun. L. XII. XIII :—Barbour, &c.

only some diversity of shades and colours, prevail <sup>SECT. II.</sup> more or less among all nations, and in every stage of the progress of society from rudeness to refinement. But, among savages, ignorance, gross vices, and atrocious crimes, are the habitual manners, the predominant, characteristic features of the *horde* or tribe: virtues, rare, as flashes of lightning bursting through a midnight storm. The first, and most striking effect of the first steps of advancement out of the savage state, is; that the proportion of the virtues, becomes greater, in comparison with that of the vices and crimes. Crimes now begin to goad the breast with the agonizing feelings of remorse: The settled habits become virtuous: Vice appears only in occasional out-breakings, which are as exceptions from the general rule. In <sup>Increase of virtue, the most striking effect of the progress of refinement.</sup> a state exalted yet somewhat higher above savage rudeness, moral order becomes still more invariably the law of public and private life. The last perfection of the illumination and civility of men living together in social union; must necessarily be characterized by such an increased exertion of industry, as shall leave no hour to be wasted, and no faculty to languish, at any time in indolence; by such an improvement of reason, as shall penetrate through almost all the mysteries of nature; but especially, by a confirmation of the power of virtue in every heart, which shall scarcely leave a vestige of wickedness and guilt upon the earth. In proportions,

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proportions, thus continually varying with the progress of civilization and refinement, are virtue and vice ever intermingled in the characters, and in the actions of nations, and of individuals. And, it is enough, that we see atrocious crimes and gross, brutal vices to have been less frequent and less general among the Scots in this, than in any preceding age : It is enough, that, in circumstances, in which their more barbarous or savage ancestors would, most probably, have shewn few proofs of a reasonable, moral discrimination ; the contemporaries of Wallace and Bruce, have appeared to be virtuous in their general habits of conduct, and to have occasionally distinguished themselves by a display of the most illustrious qualities that adorn the hero and the sage. Pursuing the progress of the history of the Scots, we may hope to see their virtues gradually improve, and the grossness of their vices and the enormity of their crimes to diminish, as they shall advance, through successive generations, still to higher civilization and refinement.

Laws of  
the Scots.

LAWS express the most definite, and most familiar, moral notions of the people among whom they are established. With these, they necessarily comprehend also the explanation of those circumstances in the situation of this people, to the modification and regulation of which, their commonly received, moral principles have been applied. Since  
the

the conquests of the Anglo-Saxons, and the pro-<sup>SECT II.</sup>pagation of Christianity in North Britain, a system of written laws had been gradually formed among the Scots. By the influence of various causes, but particularly of their intercourse with England, subsequent to the Norman conquest; the Scottish nation received the forms and institutions of Feodism, to regulate their national policy, and their respective civil duties. Their written laws became, in consequence of this event, a *medley* of the customary practices of the ancient Scots, Picts, and Britons; of the written laws of the Anglo-Saxons; of the more formal, feudal policy introduced into this isle by the Normans; and of an intermixture of forms and maxims derived out of the *canon-law*. In all but the rules of the feudal policy, the Scottish laws were not derived from the laws of England, but contemporary with them in their origin and progress. From the Anglo-Saxons of Northumberland, masters for a while, of the southern districts of Scotland, and ancestors of the greater part of the Lowland Scots; was all that appears to have been originally Anglo-Saxon in the old laws of Scotland, derived, by direct descent; not at all through the intermedium of the laws of England. During the reigns of David the First, and his successors, to the death of Alexander the Third, the code of the Scottish laws, continued to be, from time to time, enlarged by the addition of new statutes,

Progress  
of the  
Scottish  
Laws.

**SECT. II.** tutes, suggested by the contemplation of the policy of foreign nations, or required by the varying course of public events, and by the changing manners of the people\*.

Laws of  
feudal  
succession,  
established  
with new  
precision,  
in conse-  
quence of  
the con-  
tests for  
the Crown.

THE discussion of the laws of feudal succession, which was produced by the contests of the competitors for the Scottish Crown, after the death of Margaret of Norway; tended to elucidate, and to determine this part of the law of Scotland, more perfectly, than had ever been done before. During Balliol's vassal-reign, the authority of Edward, his acknowledged Lord-Paramount, was powerfully exerted in order to reduce the laws, and civil government of Scotland towards a conformity with those of England. After the deposition of Balliol, Edward's Lieutenants, for a short time, governed Scotland, nominally indeed by the old laws of the Scots; but, in truth, much more upon the principles, and after the forms of the English law. The power and the improvement of the Scottish laws, were suspended by the events which followed. No statutes of the short period of the government of Wallace, or of that regency which succeeded him, have been preserved among the national archives. Robert Bruce, after he began to account himself, certainly master of Scotland, summoned his Barons into Parliament, to enact new laws answerable to the new and extraordinary exigencies of

\* See Book I. Sect. 2. and Book II. Sect. 2.

of the state, and which might serve to remedy the evils that had arisen from long anarchy and war. SECT. II.  
 The statutes enacted by two different Parliaments in Bruce's reign, are the only additions that we know to have been made to the code of the Scottish laws, during this period of our national history. Whatever influence the English laws might insensibly and indirectly gain in Scotland, at this time; it is, at least certain that the abhorrence with which the companions and willing subjects of Bruce, naturally regarded every thing that was English; prevented them from retaining and incorporating with their laws, any of those institutions or forms of the administration of government, which English usurpation had attempted to establish among the Scots:

THOSE *relations between persons, and things constituting property*, which had been acknowledged and protected by former laws, were recognized and confirmed by Bruce and his Parliaments. Force and favour had, for some time prevailed over right, in the administration of distributive justice; and it was now carefully ordained that justice should be administered with equal impartiality, to the feeble and to the powerful, to the rich and to the poor, agreeably to the ancient laws of the kingdom. The farms and houses belonging to the Clergy regular and secular, had been spoiled and seized occasionally



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casionally by violence, during the contests for the succession, as well by the followers and subjects of Bruce, as by the English and their adherents: But the Parliament held at Scone in the year one thousand three hundred and nineteen, strictly enjoined, that the rights and properties of the Church should be thenceforth held sacred and inviolate.

Rapine  
punished.

On their march to join the royal armies, bodies of troops from different parts of the country, had often plundered, even their own friends, without mercy: But, laws were now enacted to restrain and punish this rapine. The fishing of the salmons which entered the rivers, was an object of great importance in the annual provision for the national subsistence: It was therefore decreed, that fishing *yards* and *cruives* at the mouths of rivers, should be made with a sufficient width between their bars, to permit the smaller fishes to pass upwards; and that fishes should not be taken during that part of the year which was necessary to their spawning and breeding. Measures were provided to yield ready legal redress to such as might be violently dispossessed of their lands by more powerful intruders. The most severe punishments were awarded against theft and robbery. On account of the miserable poverty to which the nation had been reduced by their long wars; all gratuitous exportation of the produce or accumulated wealth of the land, out of the kingdom, was, for a time, rigorously

Exporta-  
tion pro-  
hibited.

gorously forbidden. It was ordained, that every individual should prevent or repay any injury suffered by his neighbour, from cattle which were his property. The fraudulent donation of lands, to religious houses; intended not so much for the benefit of the religious house, as to deprive the King, or any inferior Lay-Lord, of those services of military tenure, for which such lands had been held; was, in the *second statutes* of Robert Bruce, prohibited under the pain of forfeiture. New acts were instituted to regulate the forms of the succession to inheritances; of the prosecution for the recovery of debts; of feudal servitude and dependency. Corn purchased out of foreign countries, or from the ships of merchants importing it, was exempted from the servitude of *thirlage*, and from the payment of *multure*, to any particular mill. These were the principal, new laws which the varying circumstances and manners of the times, induced Robert Bruce and his Parliaments, to enact for the settlement and the maintenance of *the relations between persons and property*, under his reign\*.

SECT. II.  
Fraudulent donations to religious houses forbidden.

## OTHERS

\* Roberti Primi Statuta Prima, in Capit. 1. 2. 4. 8. 11. 12. 18. 23. 24. 31:—Roberti Primi Statuta secunda in Capit. 1. 4. 6. 7. 8. 18. 19. 29. 34, &c.

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Relations  
between  
one indi-  
vidual and  
another;  
and the  
laws de-  
fining  
them.

OTHERS of the new laws of this period, respected the *relations between one individual, or one order of individuals in the community, and another.*

Among these, the most important were those which prohibited rapine, robbery, and theft; which awarded the punishment of death against the crime of malicious murder, or even manslaughter; and which forbade any one individual to deprive another of his property, however acquired, otherwise, than under the regular forms of law. Such statutes simply recognized and confirmed those fundamental principles of social union, but for which, man would ever be an enemy and a beast of prey to man. The long prevalence of that anarchy which had now begun to yield to firm dominion and orderly government, was the only cause which rendered it necessary to express principles so simple, and so fundamental, in new statutes.

It was not again requisite to express in written statutes, the first general duties of morality, mutually due between parent and child, husband and wife, brother and brother. But to the laws declaring the mutual obligations between *master* and *servant*, between *vassal* and *superior-lord*, were added other decrees which forbade superior-lords to claim from their vassals, any but those payments and services which the vassals had, by the conditions of their charters, stipulated to render; prohibited

hibited vassals from withdrawing their *suits* at law, SECT. II.  
 irregularly, out of the courts of their Lords; and  
 regulated the quantity of the subsidies to be paid  
 by tenants to the Lords from whom they held their  
 lands. Such subsidies were to be exacted only Lord and Vassal.  
 when the superior Lord proposed to invest his son  
 and heir with the insignia of knighthood, or to  
 give his eldest daughter in marriage. The sum of  
 twenty shillings; equal, in its power over the uses  
 of life, to the present power of seventy-two pounds  
 of Sterling money of the eighteenth century; from  
 every knight's fee or forty *plough-gangs* of land;  
 was the full amount of the subsidy which the supe-  
 rior Lord was permitted to exact, upon those two  
 occasions, from his vassals. But, the rights of be-  
 coming the guardian of his vassal's minor heir, and  
 of receiving a certain sum in the name of *heriot*  
 from the heir of any vassal, whether that heir were  
 a minor, or might have attained the years of ma-  
 jority, at the time of his succession; were still refer-  
 ved, in the genuine spirit of the feudal institutions,  
 to the *over-lord*. *Maniacs* and *ideots*, for the ge-Maniacs.  
 neral security of the community, were to be kept  
 in safe custody by their relations and friends, or to  
 be imprisoned by the judges and other officers of  
 public justice. The *inhabitants* of every *sheriffdom*  
 or *stewartry*, were enjoined to resort for transac-  
 tions of sale and purchase, only to markets within  
 the confines of the *stewartry* or *sheriffdom* to which  
 they


## SECT. II.

they respectively belonged. *Judges* convicted of corruption or partiality in the distribution of justice, were to become ever after incapable of any judicial employment. To protect the rights of succession in any man's collateral heirs, it was ordained, that a widow declaring herself to be with child by her husband, at the time of his decease, should, thirty days before the expected birth, be committed to the care of her late husband's relations; and that they should diligently watch against all possibility of her imposing a suppositious child, to defraud them of their just rights of succession. *Servants*, having no share in the national legislation, were, among their other hardships, subjected to the restraints of a law, which prevented a servant from being engaged in the employment of a new master, while his former master could pretend any tolerably plausible claims to his service. With a laudable and humane justice to those who were accused of crimes, it was provided, that they should not be deprived of their goods, until after their legal conviction of the crimes of which they should have been accused. For the *recovery of debts* due to merchants, it was ordained, that the creditor, after giving satisfactory proof of the reality and justice of the debt which he claimed, might obtain the imprisonment of his debtor's person, the sale of his personal property, and temporary possession of his lands. All men were strictly forbidden to make themselves

themselves avengers each in his own cause; and were <sup>SECT. II.</sup> commanded to seek the redress of their wrongs, and the vindication of their rights from the authority of the laws, and of their sovereign, alone. A particular form of legal process, was prescribed, by which the heir of a vassal, might recover possession of his father's lands, unjustly withheld from him by the superior lord. Whoever laid a complaint against another person in the forms of the law, was obliged to give bond for the prosecution of the charge, until a final judgment might be obtained. To protect the <sup>Seditious Speeches</sup> *majesty of the Sovereign*, it was ordained that persons spreading false reports, to excite mutual dissatisfaction between the King and his subjects, should be imprisoned, upon the first discovery of their guilt, and farther punished, at the King's pleasure. Beside judges; *proctors* to act for the parties at law, and *serjeants* to execute the sentences and mandates of the judges, were employed in the courts of justice\*.

THESE and such other laws of inferior importance, as were enacted during this reign, for the purpose of *defining and regulating the relations between one individual and another*, or between one order of individuals and another; were but so many additions to the same class of the ancient laws, instituted in the reigns of Bruce's predecessors. The authority

\* Statuta Roberti Primi, *passim*.

**SECT. II.**  rity of those ancient laws, was renewed and confirmed by the events which seated Bruce on the Scottish throne. But, new situations, new virtues, new crimes, and new knowledge, required these enlargements and corrections of the laws by which the mutual relations of persons were regulated.

**Laws regulating the duties of individuals to the Community.** • ALL the individuals, and all the different classes, or incorporated bodies, in the nation; however distinguished from one another by diversity of powers, situations, and duties; composed but one grand COMMUNITY. The whole body of the laws, by which the mutual and common obligations of the members of any community, are defined and established; the public officers employed under the laws, for conducting the functions of the government; the members of the community viewed in their relation to its political constitution: These all together represent the *Commonwealth* or *social union* and *interests*, to him who wishes to examine and discern the nature of his *public duties*. These duties,—the services due from every private person to the *Community* to which he belongs; are recognized in the primary union of all associated bodies of men; and are still more clearly understood, and more and more forcibly enjoined, as the duration of any political society is prolonged, and as the code of its legislature is enlarged and improved.

THE

THE *first grand public duty* of individuals to the community; to defend its existence, its union, its rights; was well understood, and zealously performed by the Scots of this Age. Nor were they careless of the *duty* which is the *second* in importance of those due from private persons to the commonwealth; namely, to improve and perfect, as much as possible, its structure, and all the parts of which it is composed. All their wars with England, were waged in defence of the independent existence, the political union, and the rights of the Scottish nation. That law among the Acts in the first collection of the statutes of Robert the First, which in its preamble, records the existence of dissensions among the Nobles, ever since the death of Alexander the Third, and concludes with enjoining mutual forbearance, peace, and submission to the laws; was evidently dictated by honest regard for the public welfare. The same concern for the general interests of the community, suggested the statute authorizing the King to imprison, without trial, any of his subjects who should be accused to him, of propagating rumours, to excite mutual jealousy and discord between him and his people. It was for the sake of the general welfare of the state; that its members were enjoined by the Parliament, to accoutre themselves, each with armour suitable to his rank and wealth; that the exportation of goods out of the kingdom, was for

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a time forbidden; that Parliaments were held, and the authority of an executive government, acknowledged. For this great purpose, were all those measures anxiously employed, which were directed to provide for the peaceable transmission of the Crown from heir to heir, in the line of the posterity of Robert Bruce. For this end, were all those treaties, negotiations, embassies, epistles, which occur in the history of the public transactions of the Scots of this Age\*.

## Duties of Judges.


THE public duties of *judges* were, in this period, more accurately defined, and more solemnly enjoined, than they had been, before; by the institution of laws to regulate the forms of proceeding in their courts, and to provide for the punishment of their corruption, negligence, or partiality. The public duties of the inferior ministers of law and justice, were likewise more correctly determined than they had formerly been; by a law distinguishing the attorney or agent from the messenger or serjeant belonging to the baronial or royal court.

THE public duties of the King, the Baron, the Sokman or Ceorle, the Burgefs, the Ecclesiastic, the servile Peasant; varied and enlarged only by these and some few less important, new acts and institutions; remained, in all other respects, the same

\* Statua Roberti I.—Fœdera :—Fordun, &c.

same as they had been acknowledged to be by the <sup>SECT II.</sup> forms of the ancient laws, written or customary.

The King was still the General of the national <sup>Duties of the King, &c.</sup> troops; the administrator of distributive justice; the most august and exalted member of the Legislative Assemblies; the ultimate proprietor of almost all the lands in the kingdom; which had been either originally assigned to his remote predecessors for the support of the regal dignity, or had been acquired from foreign foes by conquest, or from subjects by forfeiture. The Baron, Knight, or other military freeholder, was still obliged to serve the King in arms, for a certain number of days in each year, and with a number of armed followers proportioned to the extent of the lands which he held by military tenure. The Burgeses of any of the King's burghs served him in arms; and partly by other less honourable services, agreeably to the peculiarities of their burghage-charters. The Sokmen performed only peaceful, menial servitudes. The Clergy enjoyed their lands and tithes, subject to no conditions but that of discharging their ghostly functions. The *villains* were still liable to be transmitted from Lord to Lord, with, or without the lands on which they lived in servitude. It was still the duty of all these different classes to obey the direction of the law, in promoting the general interests of the Community, with zeal and activity proportioned to the advantages

**SECT. II.**  advantages which they derived from its support and protection.

Duties of  
the com-  
munity to  
its mem-  
bers.

THE commonwealth or Community thus composed and supported, had powerful means to reward the services of its members; and employed a grand apparatus of servants, and of public functions, legislative and executive, to maintain its own existence, and to diffuse throughout all its parts, the blessings of civil life. It employed for this purpose, that *Legislative Body* which was legitimately composed of the King and all his free vassals, at the æra of its primary institution; when the nation might be supposed to consist only of the free vassals of the Crown, their wives and children, and the slaves whom the fate of war or servile birth, had subjected to their tyranny. The legislative body had originally enacted or tacitly authorized all the laws written or customary, which were obeyed in the kingdom.

Functions  
of the Par-  
liament, or  
Legislative  
Assembly.

By their authority the King reigned; and was succeeded on the throne, after his death, by him whom the feudal laws of inheritance, recognized for his heir. Without their consent and appointment, the King could legally do nothing more in the government of the state, than command its armies, maintain its domestic tranquillity, and carry into execution those laws which the national legislature had ordained. No new taxes could be levied,

ed, no new servitude could be demanded by the King from his vassals; save only those taxes and those servitudes which were stipulated in the conditions of their tenures; unless those vassals solemnly assembled in Parliament, should have formally granted his demands, as necessary to answer the exigencies of the state. Not only the great military vassals, but burghesses, also, sokmen, and ecclesiastics, were, by the fundamental laws of the state, and by the conditions of their tenures, members of the great Legislative Assembly. Superior wealth, more furious violence, and accidents in the progress of the social establishment, had reduced the sokmen, the burghesses, and the inferior clergy to assist, only by select representation, in the deliberations of the Legislature. At the first, it had been otherwise.

THE members of this Legislative Assembly were called together by the King alone, for the discharge of their Legislative functions. He presided in their meetings; but had not in himself, at this time, power to annul or reject their decrees. The majority of voices prevailed to dictate the law in any deliberation. Their *clerks* recorded their transactions. The laws they ordained, were promulgated through the kingdom by the King's *sheriffs* and other officers of justice. The care of carrying those laws into execution, remained

**SECT. II.** remained in all ordinary cases, with the King alone\*.

Functions  
of the  
King.

NEXT after the Legislative Body of the nation, thus constituted, acting for those purposes, and observing such forms of procedure; the *Community* by its political constitution, intrusted to the *King*, the performance of those duties which it owed to the individuals associated under it. The King was the only servant, properly speaking, whom the community employed to defend it against foreign enemies, and to protect its domestic peace. To him was committed the execution of all its laws. It was his business to protect by the power with which he was legally invested, all private persons and the community itself in the exercise of all their duties, and the enjoyment of all their rights. While the Legislative Body was not assembled, no power within the state, could lawfully resist the royal authority, otherwise than by an appeal to the Legislature and the laws. Even when assembled for the exercise of their Legislative functions, they could controul the authority of the King, only by a formal, Legislative act†.

Royal revenues.

FOR his personal support, and as means to enable him to discharge the executive functions committed to him by the political constitution of the state, the King possessed lands and castles, and various

\* Regiam Majestatem, *possim* :—Fœdera :—Fordun, &c.

† Eisdem.

rious other sources of revenue. His lands were <sup>SECT. II.</sup> in part granted out to the officers of his army, his household, and his civil government, to reward their services, while they remained in office. Other parts of the royal domains were possessed by the military vassals of the Crown; Barons, Knights, and Esquires; on the condition of their performing at the command of their Sovereign and superior Lord, certain military services specified in the written deeds recording the grants of their possessions. The burgeses and other free vassals possessed other parts of the royal domains upon the condition of paying money and menial services, either solely, or together with occasional military service. Some parts of the Crown lands, were still retained in the natural possession of the King himself, and were managed by hands attached to the soil, under the direction of the King's stewards, or other domestic officers.

IN addition to these engines of power and sources <sup>Taxes and customs.</sup> of revenue, the Kings of Scotland had, before this time, begun to derive a permanent or occasional income from taxes levied on the transactions of merchandize. Such an income could not be legally received by them, without the sanction and appointment of the Parliament. But, in these times, power did not always request the aid of law; nor could its alliance always protect, or give energy to weakness. A tax of custom was levied upon the wool

\* Eoſdem :—See Books I. and II. Sect 2. of each.

**SECT. II.** wool exported from Berwick. Salmons, herrings, tallow, hides, and all other subjects of exportation, were unquestionably subjected to the payment of a similar charge to the Monarch. It was in the power of the King and his Parliament to prevent the importation of goods by foreign merchants, otherwise than upon the condition of the importing merchants paying reasonable taxes out of their profits from the sale of the imported goods\*.

**Extraordi-  
nary aids.** EVEN the ordinary revenue of the Crown, drawn from these different sources, was often found inadequate to the exigencies of that administration of government which was confided to the King. In such cases, it became necessary for the monarch to throw himself upon the liberality of his vassals, asked from more or fewer of them, individually; to seize by force and illegally, those supplies which he needed; or to assemble his free vassals in Parliament, and there to explain his wants, and demand the necessary subsidies. To some pecuniary aids from his vassals, to be contributed at stated periods, he was intitled by the customs of feudal tenure, and by the conditions of the grants which he had bestowed.

THESE revenues, occasional and permanent, enabled the King to maintain for the distribution of justice, *Sheriffs*, who had now come in the room of the *Earls* or *Counts*, whose substitutes they originally

I

\* Regiam Majestatem :—Rymer's *Fœdera passim*.

nally were: a *Justiciary* of the kingdom whose <sup>SECT. II.</sup> duty it was annually to perambulate the different <sup>The King's</sup> districts of the country, and to pronounce sentence <sup>Officers,</sup> in criminal cases, with the full force of the royal <sup>Domestic</sup> authority: a *Chamberlain*, who likewise travelled through the kingdom annually, and at his courts took cognizance of matters connected with the ordinary œconomy of industry, trade, and public police; judged in all causes connected with the receipt of the royal revenues; and acted as the principal ordinary receiver of these revenues for his Sovereign's use. This had once been more properly the business of the King's *Steward*. But, that officer had been gradually exalted from a merely domestic, and private servant, to the most conspicuous and important station in administering the government of the kingdom, under the King. The *Cupbearer*, the *Master of the Wardrobe*, and the other officers of the royal household; although not directly or properly concerned in the public administration, yet unavoidably acquired authority in the King's counsels, and became ministers of his government, in consequence of their situation in his family, and near his person\*.

BESIDE those officers to whom the royal power <sup>THE MILITARY</sup> was partially delegated for the distribution of justice, <sup>Officers.</sup> for the levying of the royal revenue, and for

VOL. II.

B b b

managing

\* Regiam Majestatem :—Appendix to this Volume, No. II.



## SECT. II.

managing the œconomy of the King's household ; he had also his *High Constable*, the commander of the National Cavalry, whose business was to summon to actual service those who were obliged to serve on horseback, against the King's enemies, and to lead them upon the destined expeditions ; a *Lord-Marshal*, the commander in chief of all his armies, subject in authority only to the King himself, and to his *High Steward* ; at last, at those times when the national forces were actually in the field ; and when the King did not, by special command, intrust the conduct of any particular enterprize, to another, rather than to the *Marshal*. Under these high military officers, the King employed also *Governors* of *Forts* and *Castles* ; and *Barons* and *Knights*, commanding each that proportion of the royal forces which attended him, as his own followers, to serve under the royal banner\*.

OTHER officers, domestic, civil, and military, were likewise occasionally employed by the King to perform certain services ; which although falling properly within the province of some one or other of the officers above mentioned, yet could not for the time, be conveniently discharged by him. Such were ambassadors sent to conduct political negotiations with foreign courts ; to conclude treaties of peace, to propose the exchange of prisoners,

Ambassadors.

\* Fordun.—Blind Harry :—Barbour :—Winton :—Regiam Majestatem, *passim*.

prisoners, to pay or to receive homage in the name <sup>SECT. II.</sup> of their master.

THESE were the revenues put into the King's hands ; and these the servants civil, military, and domestic, whom he was enabled to employ : in order that he might adequately discharge those duties which he owed to the Community, in consequence of the high rank he held in it ; and those functions of protection, encouragement, and restraint, which the Community required him, as its first servant, under the Parliament of the nation, to perform towards all its individual members.

*ASSIZES* or *Juries* ; a part of the Political Con-<sup>JURIES.</sup>stitution of the Scottish State, which derives its origin from the policy of the Northumbrian Anglo-Saxons ; served partly to aid the royal authority in the distribution of justice, partly to restrain it from the oppressive abuse of its powers. The King's *Justiciary* was not authorized to decide, alone, in civil or criminal cases, at any of the courts which he held. It was his business to summon the whole freeholders of every county to meet him at his court within that county : He then heard their complaints of injustice suffered from one another, or from strangers : Those who had neither done nor *suffered* wrong for which there was redress demanded, and who were friends equal-  
ly

**SECT. II.** ly to the complainers and to the accused, were called to determine concerning the truth of the complaints offered, and the degree of the injury that had been sustained: When these men composing the *Jury* or *Affize*, had determined concerning the truth of the complaint, and the nature of the wrong; the *Justiciary* or other judge then pronounced the sentence of the law against the criminal. In civil, as well as in criminal cases, the enquiries and determinations of the Jury still preceded and directed the sentence of the Judge. The Sheriffs; judges themselves, in the absence of the *Justiciary*; attended his courts, simply to do him honour by their attendance, and to assist in the carrying of his sentences into execution.

Jurisdiction of Barons and Burghs.

THE Barons, the Magistrates of every burgh, the Bishops and Abbots who possessed the baronies of the Church; exercised, each within his own domains, a subordinate judiciary power over those tenants and vassals who were dependent upon them, or held lands from them, by whatever species of tenure. At the courts of the Barons, forms of law were observed similar to those which prevailed in the royal courts. But certain species of causes were reserved for the judgment of the King or his Justiciaries alone; and from the sentence of a Baron or his Bailiff presiding in his court, the parties might appeal to the King, and carry their cause

cause before the regal courts for new investigation and decision\*.

SECT. II.

SUCH was the general œconomy of those means which were provided by the Political Constitution of the State, to enable the community to preserve its own existence, and to protect and support its members. In the course of the present period, extending from the latter part of the thirteenth nearly to the middle of the fourteenth century, the variations of custom, and new provisions of written law, added some new regulations, and abrogated some of the ancient forms respecting these matters. To this head are naturally to be referred those statutes of the Parliaments of Robert Bruce which particularly enjoin the equal, impartial distribution of justice among all the King's subjects, agreeably to the laws; those which are directed to regulate the equipment and the attendance of them whose duty it was, to serve in the royal armies; those which specify new forms of judicial procedure; those which forbid the sale or gift of armour to the enemies of the nation; those which denounce severe penalties against persons violently opposing the King's officers in the execution of the laws; those which grant to the inhabitants of Galloway, the benefit of the laws of Scotland, abolishing whatever was oppressive in the customs of order and

New statutes regulating the duties of the Community to its members.

\* Regiam Majestatem, *passim*.

**SECT. II.** and government to which the Galwegians had been formerly subject\*.

Recapitulation concerning the Laws.

AND these were in this period, the laws enacted to enlarge the ancient code of the Scottish legislation, to accommodate it to the altered circumstances of the time, or to revive and confirm beneficial ancient laws that had fallen into disuse. In defining and regulating the relations between persons and property; the relations of civil intercourse between one private person and another; the political relations of individuals to the community; and those again of the whole community to the individuals, and the orders of whom it was composed; was this whole code of *written* laws; with the customary laws established by the known and uncontradicted practice of the country, and by the forms and precedents of judicial courts; exclusively employed.

COMPARED with the laws of Scotland, such as they appear to have been from the time of David the First to the days of Alexander the Second; the *statutes* of the Parliaments of Robert Bruce plainly bespeak an improvement in the ideas of the Scots concerning political and civil rights and duties. Considered in respect to the freedom or servitude of the subjects, they shew the feudal constitution, not to have been that system of tyrannical

\* Statuta Roberti Primi.

nical oppression, which it has been represented to be. The peasantry were indeed slaves. But all the other subjects of the government, enjoyed, while feodism flourished in its full vigour; a species of turbulent liberty which was often scarcely compatible with civil order. From the ancient constitution of the Old Scottish and Anglo-Saxon governments, the feudal constitution of the Scottish government now differed in little else, except in that the King was supreme proprietor of all or almost all the lands in the kingdom; a change accomplished chiefly by the progress of manners, by the consequences of frequent conquests of new territories, and by the forfeiture of the possessions of wealthy subjects. From the feudal establishments, such as they had appeared at their first formal institution in Europe, the present feodism of Scotland, differed only in this circumstance; that offices, and possessions which were originally granted by the King, only during the life and good behaviour of the persons who obtained them, had before this time become in almost all instances hereditary; because the idea of hereditary succession is extremely natural in the human mind; and because the inhabitants of Europe were acquainted with so few modes of the transference of office, of compensation, and of possession, that they necessarily adopted only that which was in their circumstances the most obvious.

SECT. II.

Reflections on the present state of the Scottish Laws.

**SECT. II.** ous. So far as the feudal constitution of the Scottish government was changed; it was by an insensible usurpation by the King of a portion of power which the original spirit of the constitution had not confided into his hands; but by a much greater usurpation of the Nobles and other military freeholders, of hereditary wealth and power, which ought still to have remained partly with the King, and in part with the community at large. Not but that this change and these usurpations were perhaps serviceable to the progress of civility and refinement, because they tended to introduce gradually a better order of things. Even the slaves, however, by their numbers, by the meliorated customs of servitude, and by the influence of Christianity, began to recover something of that liberty of which conquest and oppression had deprived their forefathers.

Titles  
and en-  
signs of  
honour

RANK as a thing distinct from actual wealth or power; *titles* merely honorary; and *ensigns* of dress or armorial bearing, expressive of the honours, power, alliances, wealth, or glory of the wearer; were now, at length, so considerable in the system of life and civil policy, as to deserve a place in the history of the knowledge of the Scots of this time.

THE expression of thought by attitude, gesture, <sup>SECT. II.</sup> painting, and moveable material signs, is as an-<sup>Origin and</sup>cient, and as natural to man, as the communication<sup>use of Hi-</sup> of his desires and purposes by vocal sounds. The<sup>eroglyphics.</sup> *Art of Writing* is posterior to that of preserving and communicating the knowledge of events by the use of *hieroglyphic* characters. Speech and writing, improved even to their highest perfection, can never wholly supersede the use of paintings and other material signs in the intercourse of intelligence between man and man. After hieroglyphics and other silent signs of thought have been rejected out of the ordinary business of society; they are still preserved for certain solemn purposes, in the accomplishment of which they seem to be peculiarly significant, or to bestow extraordinary dignity. Such are the solemnities of religion; the ceremonials of courts; acts accompanying the ratification of peace between hostile nations, or their mutual denunciations of war; trophies of victory; stigmata of infamy; tokens of mutual affection between friends or lovers; and relics which preserve the remembrance of the dead to those survivors to whom their memory is dear.

FROM this use of hieroglyphic paintings, and other material signs of human thought, advantageously continued, even after the perfection of speech



SECT. II.

HERALD-

RY, NO-

thing more

than a par-

ticular ap-

plication

of hiero-

glyphics.

*Heraldry*

first assum-

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lar form

among the

nations of

modern

Europe.

and of written language ; have arisen all the insignia of *Heraldry*, and all the exterior marks of distinction and honour. Even naked savages have been observed to paint and puncture their bodies in a manner intended to distinguish high birth, valour, power, and dignity from meanness, weakness, and cowardice. Among the ancient Romans, the nobles preserved statues of their ancestors in their houses, and exhibited them at their funeral solemnities. In modern Europe, among those nations who subdued the Roman Empire, and in the ages which intervened between the time of its fall and the æra of the revival of civilization and learning, the *Heraldic Art* had acquired a regular form : And those rude warriors who wanted in a great measure the benefit of letters to preserve and celebrate their glory, were obliged to trust to the emblazonments of the Herald, and the tale or ballad of the Minstrel. The shield worn by the soldier to defend his breast, was the tablet on which were inscribed the hieroglyphics of his glory. On it were represented emblems of his valour, of his power, of other qualities in his character, and other circumstances in his condition. It bore also figures historically allusive perhaps to some great action which he had recently performed. Paintings of the limbs, or of the whole bodies of animals ; representations of the celestial signs ; the forms of every thing remarkable in the realms of art or nature, were assumed as honourable

nourable insignia to grace the shield of the warrior. SECT. II.

These representations were abbreviated, in order that as much meaning as possible might be crowded within the narrow space of the exposed side of the shield. Colours, relative position upon the shield, every diversity of aspect or circumstances, however minute, was made significant. Alliance, rank, dignities, almost all events in the fortunes of human life, gradually came to be represented in the hieroglyphics of the herald. The warrior's crest was exhibited as surmounting his shield. Slaves or the figures of inferior animals were introduced, supporting and exposing to view the ensigns of his dignity and honours. The *Herald*, who was allied in his office and character to the Minstrel, but more honourable than the minstrels in their degraded state; who was usually employed to summon the national soldiery to join their Sovereign's banners; and was intrusted with the care of distinguishing those soldiers from one another, as they arrived, and of assigning them, under his commander's orders, their several ranks and stations: the *Herald* was, at the same time, the officer who emblazoned the warrior's shield; and it was his business to explain the meaning, and to adjust the proprieties of the heraldic hieroglyphics. It was his business likewise, to regulate all the ceremonies of combat, and to hear proposals of truce or peace between contending foes\*.

THIS

\* See Guillim:—Nisbet:—Dallaway.

## SECT. II.

Scottish  
Heraldry.

THIS system of the ensigns and ceremonials of honour and of public intercourse, had been gradually established in Scotland, as well as in the other countries of Europe. In the earliest times in which the Scots had any thing of the order of civil government among them, they used also insignia of honour, and ceremonials of intercourse; although these were then indeed simple and rude. The introduction of the feudal forms and customs of France and England into Scotland, brought with it, an improvement and a multiplication of their heraldic ceremonies and ensigns. When titles of dignity, merely honorary, began at length to be conferred among them; and when noble families were permanently established in the kingdom; these circumstances created a necessity for the paying of new and more anxious attention to the forms and hieroglyphics of heraldry. Heralds were to be at length united into a body subject to certain common regulations; dependent upon the Lord-Marshal, and upon certain superior officers among themselves. In certain cases a judicial power was to be attributed to them. The representations on shields, and coats of armorial bearing became objects of mighty importance to the Scottish, and not less to the English nobles and warriors of these times. Froissart has commemorated in a rhyming form, the armorial bearings, of the Knights and Barons who, soon after  
this

this period, attended Edward the Third of Eng.<sup>SECT. II.</sup> land at the siege of Caerlaverock. In the year one thousand three hundred and twelve, Hugh Harding, an Englishman challenged William de Saintlowe, a Scotsman, as wearing without a just right, the armorial coat of the name and family of Harding. By the permission of the Scottish King, they mutually appealed for the decision of the right between them, to the event of a single combat. At Perth they fought; Harding mastered his antagonist; and Saintlowe was divested of his coat of arms. In the progress of this history, we shall find, from time to time, new memorials of the ancient state of heraldry in Scotland, which will enable us gradually to examine and to hold up to view, all that is curious or important in the art\*.

WITH the progress of heraldry, and with those changes which the lapse of time, insensibly produced upon the civil and military policy of the Scottish government; the gradual rise of merely honorary nobility, was intimately connected. In the original distinctions of rank in Scotland, there had been no titles barely honorary. Every title implied the office and the authority of the person on whom it was bestowed. The *King* was the first magistrate of the state: An *Earl* or *Count* was the actual military and civil ruler of a particular district

Origin of  
Titles  
merely ho-  
norary, in  
Scotland.

\* Fordun:—Froissart:—Nisbet.

SECT. II. triſt of the kingdom : A *Baron* was a warrior commanding a certain number of his own armed vaffals in the King's army, and poſſeſſing lands ſufficient to ſupport his followers : A *Knight* was a ſingle warrior ſerving on horſeback, and completely armed : An *Eſquire* was the ſole attendant on a *Knight* : A *Sheriff* or *Viſcount*, was the ſubſtitute of a *Count* or *Earl*, employed to govern his county or earldom, while he himſelf was abſent : A *Lord* was a perſon poſſeſſing an eſtate in land, and maintaining an houſhold. Almoſt all the other titles of honour known in Scotland, were denominations of office, which have never yet wholly loſt their primary ſignification. The changes of civil policy in Scotland, had already reduced the *Count* or *Earl* from being the governor of a particular diſtriſt to be ſimply the proprietor of an eſtate, over the inhabitants of which indeed he exerciſed an hereditary juřiſdiction, but ſo as not wholly to exclude the authority of the King. The diſtinction of *Lord* had now begun to be confined to *Barons* alone, and even to Barons of more than ordinary eminence. The office and denomination of *Viſcount* were rare : The *Sheriff* was the ordinary magiſtrate, employed to diſcharge, with inferior authority, in every county, thoſe functions which had been formerly intruſted to the Earl. *Knight* was ſtill applied in its primary ſignification : Every man of free, military birth ; unſtained by any crime of his own,

or

or of his parents; and possessing wealth sufficient <sup>SECT. II.</sup> to enable him to accoutre himself in the proper armour, to acquire a horse to bear him, and to retain an Esquire to follow him; *might*, when he had attained the maturity of his strength and years, with due skill and dexterity in military discipline; *might* then claim the honour of being knighted by the hand of any illustrious Knight from whom he should desire to have that distinction conferred upon him. *Spurs* gilt with gold, were a common ensign of the knighthood of him who wore them. Such was the present state of military honours in Scotland\*.

THE state of the knowledge and practice of RELIGION: RELIGION had not been greatly improved in Scotland, from the æra of the death of Alexander the Third, to the death of Robert Bruce. The Clergy were still regarded as the ministers and vicegerents of Heaven: having power from God to bind and to release, to acquit or to condemn. They still taught, that submission to their authority, and a due <sup>Doctrines and wor-</sup>ship, care to gratify them with wealth and other rewards, were the fittest means which the profane Laity could employ to win the forgiveness and the favour of their God. They taught, that the violation of the obligations of morality, was indeed heinously sinful; but that prayers, charitable munificence, penitential discipline, the indulgences of the church, and

\* Fordun:—Barbour:—Blind Harry:—Fæderæ, *passim*.

SECT. II.

and the attribution of the superabundant merits of Jesus Christ and his Saints to the guilty sinner, were sufficient to atone to God for every crime that mankind could commit. They had exalted a multitude of pretended saints to share with God Most High, the adoration of themselves and their disciples. They had contrived to extend their pretended power over the fate of men, beyond the term of the present life ; by presenting to the imagination of the affrighted, dying sinner, a state of purgatory beyond the grave, from which their masses and prayers might relieve him, before the full lapse of the destined period of his purifying sufferings. They taught, that the wicked dead were often sent amid their torments, to walk the earth by night ; to haunt in misery those scenes in which their guilty deeds had been perpetrated ; to reveal the secrets of their guilt, to the survivors ; and thus to deliver these from entanglements in which the crimes of the departed wretch, had involved them ; or to procure new prayers and other vicarious services from the living, by the efficacy of which the perturbed spirit might at length be permitted to rest in peace. Erenitical retreat from the intercourse of the world, devout contemplation, prayer, and solitary converse with God, had in the estimation of the Clergy and Laity of this Age, the highest merit that man could possess in the sight of Heaven. Believing that Jesus Christ,

Christ, the Son of God, had vicariously endured <sup>SECT. II.</sup> the sufferings due to erring mankind, and had wrought works of righteousness to be imputed to men; they extended the same principle farther, and persuaded themselves, that although men could never equal the merits of their Divine Saviour; yet Mary, the mother of Jesus; the Apostles who followed him, and propagated his gospel; confessors, martyrs, hermits, saints honoured as such by the Church; had merits active or passive, which were much more than adequate to accomplish their own salvation; and which gave them extraordinary influence with God, to obtain the salvation of sinners who should implore their intercession. It was even fancied that these saints were to be pleased, like the heathen deities of old, by temples, convents, and cells erected to do them honour, and by costly gifts consecrated to them in the places of worship. Their festivals were fondly celebrated; and were so numerous as to occupy very many days in the round of the year. *Relics* were recommended by the Clergy, to the fond devotion of their disciples. They taught, that the excrements, the bones, the blood, the flesh, the garments of a departed saint; possessed, in consequence of their relation to him, an inextinguishable virtue, sufficient to work miracles, to sanctify and to protect from danger, the person by whom the holy relic was possessed: And that such a relic in some de-



S<sup>E</sup>CT. II.

gree brought down from Heaven the holy and benign influence of the faint himself, to dwell wherever it might be conveyed. Churches, bells, houses, whatever was consecrated by the Clergy, was alledged by them to have acquired sacred virtues by the consecration. Their robes, their cathedrals, their religious rites, displayed whatsoever was most splendid and awfully grand in the arts and manners of the Age. The services of the church were performed in a sort of barbarous Latin often little understood even by its priests. But the emblematic ceremonials of this religion, the wild legends which were repeated, and the stern discipline which was exercised, taught the people to call themselves Christians, and to revere the Clergy as the ministers and vice-generals of heaven; and this was almost all that those ecclesiastics desired. They assumed to themselves the power of dispensing with the observance of all moral duties. An oath, a promise, a contract, however solemn, however sincere, was no longer obligatory, when the Church were willing to grant absolution for the violation of it. Marriages between persons allied even remotely by consanguinity or affinity, were religiously forbidden: Yet, the indulgence of the Church could make the most incestuous marriages lawful. For all crimes, the Church was ready to grant absolution after they were committed: For many crimes, a dispensation

dispensation might be obtained, before the act were <sup>SECT. II.</sup> perpetrated\*:

THE Clergy composed a grand *incorporation* <sup>Structure</sup> within the kingdom having a character, rights, <sup>of the</sup> and interests which detached them, almost wholly <sup>hier-</sup> from their fellow-subjects. They consisted of an Archbishop, Bishops, Deans, Canons, Prebendaries, Rectors, Vicars; all secular ecclesiastics; of different orders of Monks or regular Clergy, possessing abbacies, priories, cells, and governed by Abbots, Priors, and subordinate officers: as also of Nuns possessing convents, and governed by their Abbesses and Prioreesses. The Monks and Nuns were of different *Orders*, distinguished from one another by deriving their origin each from a different founder; by possessing each endowments and establishments peculiar to itself; by being each subject to peculiar rules of religious discipline; and by having, each order a particular *General* of the order, who, under the authority of the Pope, governed all the clerical persons of that order, who were within the Christian world. The government of the secular Clergy, was placed in the hands of the Bishops, the Deans, and their Chapters, the Archbishop; and the national assemblies of the Church. The Clergy had their *Canon-Law* which prescribed the rules of Church-Government and ecclesiastical discipline, and which enabled them to draw

\* Fordun :—Winton *passim*, &c.

SECT. II.

draw artfully many secular causes before their courts, and under their peculiar cognizance. They were subject to the Roman Pontiff; although independent of the English, or of any other foreign church. In various forms, and under various pretences, the Pope drew a considerable revenue, in taxes, and occasional contributions, from the Scottish Clergy. A Papal Legate did not continually reside in Scotland, but occasionally visited it. During the wars conducted by Balliol, Wallace, and Bruce; especially during the greater part of the reign of the latter; the receipts of the Roman Court out of Scotland, were greatly diminished, in consequence of the extreme poverty to which this country was reduced; and in consequence also of the excommunication of the Scottish King and his adherents, and of the measures of indignant retaliation which the Scots adopted\*.

Revenues  
of the  
Clergy.

THE revenues and possessions of the Scottish Clergy, were, in comparison with the extent and the general wealth of the kingdom, very ample. The Bishoprics of Glasgow and St Andrew's were endowed with wide territories, with the patronage of a multitude of benefices, and with great riches of all sorts. The abbacy of Kelso had large estates. Great also was the opulence of the abbacy of Paisley, and of that of the Holyrood at Edinburgh. The Bishopric of Dunkeld enjoyed

\* Eodem quos supra.

enjoyed very extensive patronage. The revenues <sup>SECT. II.</sup> thus possessed, arose partly out of estates which had been piously bestowed upon this or that church; partly from tithes which were now eagerly exacted by the Clergy, out of the annual produce of the labours and possessions of the Laity. Scarcely a rich man died, without bequeathing a legacy to the Church. New chapels were from time to time built; new parishes erected; new priories and convents founded. Those parishes which were under the patronage of a Bishopric, or an Abbey, were often served by a Vicar, who was obliged to content himself with a part of the full benefice, while the rest was reserved for the Bishop or Abbey to whom the patronage of the *living* belonged. The Monks in any particular monastery, being able by their numbers, to perform the ecclesiastical functions for many parishes; engrossed by this means many benefices, as a fund for the revenue of a single convent. The property of the Clergy was less liable to the violation of robbery and plundering warfare, than that of the laity; and by consequence, the same extent of possessions would afford to an ecclesiastical proprietor, a larger and surer income than could have been derived from it, by a Layman. The Clergy, too, were usually the better husbandmen and œconomists: They alone had orchards, and well-stored granaries, and inclosed and well-cultivated fields: Their houses were more commodi-  
ous,

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ous, and their furniture commonly richer than those of the Laity : Their flocks and herds were not always spared amid the ravages of war ; but were however often spared, when those of the Laity were driven away or destroyed\*.

Morals  
of the  
Clergy.

THEIR manners were indeed considerably corrupt ; yet less so, most certainly, than those of the Laymen. Monasteries and convents became scenes of torpid indolence, gluttony, drunkenness, unnatural uncleanness, and of eternal envy, jealousy, backbitings, and jarring strife. In their intercourse with the world, both regular and secular ecclesiastics practised a thousand infamous arts of hypocrisy, fraud, and imposture. Those whose ecclesiastical rank and offices required them to preserve extraordinary gravity and sanctity of manners, were often conspicuously faithless, profligate, and unjust. But, if these vices prevailed among the Clergy ; they prevailed among them however less generally, and in a degree less offensive, than among the Laity. There were still many eminent examples of social and of ascetic virtue. Mildness and humanity often inculcated by example ; the independence and freedom of their country resolutely maintained, at a time when but for the Clergy, the martial nobles of Scotland, would, most probably have betrayed it ; hospitality generously exercised ; charity continually bestowed with liberal

\* Fordun. &c. *possim*.

liberal bounty ; the youth instructed in the principles of religion and the elements of human learning : These are the names of so many classes of virtuous deeds, the remembrance of which must claim the veneration and gratitude of all future times to the Scottish Clergy of this age. What ingenious artificers were there in the land, except the Clergy and their dependents ? Who were the lawyers and physicians of the time ? The Clergy. Who were the historians of the age ? The Clergy alone. Who preserved by continual transcription the remains of ancient learning, and the memorials of passing events ? We must still answer,—the Clergy. Their ignorance, their avarice, their pride, their debauchery were, in a great measure, the vices and the ignorance of that period of social improvement in which they lived : Those virtues and that knowledge by which they were the most eminently distinguished, were produced chiefly by the influence of their sacred profession, and by the peculiar spirit of their order\*.

THE elegant literature and erudition of the Scots, were, in the end of the thirteenth, and the beginning of the fourteenth century truly small. Few of them could read ; still fewer knew to write. In some specimens of their *hand-writing* which have been preserved in charters, epistles, and other written

\* Barbour :—Winton :—Fordun. &c.

SECT. II.

ten deeds; it appears to have been sometimes not indistinct, nor inelegant : In other instances, the letters resemble the scratches of an infant, or a drunken person : In all, the letters are crooked and angular, displaying nothing of the beauty of modern manuscript. The *language* spoken, at this time in Scotland, appears to have been in the interior parts of Galloway, and from the Frith of Clyde, throughout the Hebrides, and along the western coast of the mainland to the *Pentland-Frith*,—the GAELIC. In the northern, and the middle districts of the Highlands, the language was still the same. From the Moray-Frith to the Forth, through a narrow tract on the coast, in which the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes had many centuries since established their manners and their speech ; a sort of dialect, in its character, between the *Anglo-Saxon* and the *Danish*, but at the same time strongly contaminated with an intermixture of *Gaelic*, was commonly spoken. Throughout the extensive district of Lothian ; and indeed in all the territory from the confines of England to the Friths of the Forth and the Clyde ; excepting only the interior parts of Galloway and Carrick ; the ANGLO-SAXON language was still spoken in great purity. The most eminent English minstrels were still of the SOUTH COUNTRY, or of a district comprehending the most northern provinces of England, and the most southern parts of Scotland ; because there only were the Anglo-Saxon manners and language preserved

considerable purity. In the service of the Church, <sup>SECT. II.</sup> in charters and public deeds, and in the enunciation of the laws and acts of Parliament, the Latin language was still used. The vernacular speech of the country was confined in its use to common conversation among the illiterate, and to that less solemn public business, and those less grave literary compositions in which the vulgar and the illiterate were chiefly addressed.

It is probable, that many ballads in the com- Ballads.  
mon vernacular tongue, were still chaunted by  
wandering minstrels for the amusement of those  
who hospitably received and entertained them.  
These ballads were either versified legends ; or the  
praises of some popular character ; or songs of  
triumph in memory of some victory ; or the pas-  
sionate expression of public indignation against  
some great man become odious and unpopular ;  
or the bursting voice of hatred, rage, and contempt  
against an hostile people. *Rhyme* ; unknown to Rhyme.  
the Greeks and Romans, to the Asiatics, and to  
the Gaelic Bards, had now become the *metre* of  
European poetry. It *may* have had its origin in  
the false refinements of an age continually declin-  
ing in taste and genius,—upon the high-sounding  
and melodious measures of the poetry of Greece  
and Rome : But it has been, with greater proba-  
Vol. II. E e e . bility,



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bility, conjectured to have been introduced into the middle and southern parts of Europe, by the barbarous Goths, Franks, or Lombards : It exists in some of the most ancient remains of the poetry of the Anglo-Saxons. As employed in this period by the minstrels of Scotland and England, it consisted in the regularly recurring chime of one or more syllables, either at the end, or even at the beginning of two corresponding words, which were still divided from one another by the same number of intermediate syllables. For *accentuation* and for *quantity*, the minstrels and their admirers had no delicacy of ear. No standard for the uniform pronunciation of words or syllables had as yet been fixed. Except only the rhymes therefore, the verses of these rude poets were absolutely destitute of every other principle of melody. The Monks, charmed with the beauty of rhyme, learned to employ it in their Latin compositions. Many specimens of the rhyming Latin poetry of the Monks have been handed down to us. Every thing is sacrificed in them to the tricks of alliteration, and the tinkling of rhyme. Meaning, construction, force of sentiment, and power of description are all slighted ; and nothing is attempted, but the exhibition of an assemblage of gingling words. The next object of care to the poet, after the rhyme, was, the enumeration of the splendid rarities possessed by the wealthy. A poem could never gain admiration, in those days,

Latin  
rhymes.

days, unless it told much of gold, and jewels, and precious stones, and rich furniture, and sumptuous festivals, and endless ceremonies in the mutual intercourse of the great. Giants, dwarfs, foldans, necromancers, fairy palaces, and enchanted castles, were also among those subjects which gave to the songs of the minstrels, the most powerful influence over the simple wonder of their rude and illiterate hearers. The poetry of any particular age, must, in the judgement of the people of that age, always derive its excellence from the skilful display of those objects which they are the most prone to view with wonder and delight. But, the rude and gorgeous grandeur of the great; all those beings which were believed to people the mysterious world of superstition; the tale of that opulence which commerce and the crusading expeditions into Asia, had just begun to make known to the inhabitants of the middle and northern parts of Europe: These were the objects which were the most passionately desired or wondered at, by the Scots and their neighbours of this time. Hence, then the origin of that miserable taste in poetical composition, which their legends and ballads display\*.

THOSE compositions which they wrote solely in compliance with the necessities of public business, are less despicable. The *statutes* of the Parliaments, although expressed in impure and incorrect Latin,

are

\* See Warton's History of English Poetry, &c.

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Charters.

are however sufficiently perspicuous, brief, and precise. The forms of their *contracts*, and *charters* possess the advantage of being much less complicated, verbose, and prolix, than those forms of similar deeds, which are used in modern times. In some of their public *epistles*, the companions of Bruce appear to have written with the same energy with which they fought. While the style is harsh and uncouth, while facts are often mistaken or misrepresented; there is however an artfulness of persuasion, a cogency of argument, an impressive vehemence of sentiment, such as might well disdain the elegancies of literature the most polished and refined\*.

Legends.

The famous legend of The Cave of St Patrick.

It is not to be denied, that, the Clergy did not in this age distinguish themselves by the composition of many very valuable works for the religious and moral instruction of the people. It cannot be alledged that literary pursuits were the darling objects of their regard. But the numerous legends which were repeated among them, discover in some instances, no mean share of richness and fervour of poetic imagination. The legend of the Cave of St Patrick in Ireland, is one of the most interesting of these. This *Cave*, as the legend relates, was discovered by an heavenly messenger to St Patrick, while he laboured by preaching, by benevolent deeds, and by miracles, to convert the Irish from Druidism

\* Anderson's Diplom.—Rymer's Fœdera :—Ford. *passim*.

Druidism to the Christian Faith. The Son of SECT. II. God, at the same time revealed to the faithful missionary, that whoever should enter that Cave, and spend within it the space of a day and a night, should thus obtain the absolution of all his sins. A monastery was erected by the Saint, beside the sacred Cave; and the custody of the Cave was intrusted to the Monks. Its fame had been almost forgotten, and its virtues slighted; when a certain soldier repenting of the crimes of his military life, earnestly requested permission to atone for these by the penance of St Patrick's Cave. He was, after some difficulty, at length permitted to enter it; and the gate was again shut upon him. Advancing, he came to a plain; and on that plain perceived a spacious hall. He entered the hall; and for some short space, surveyed with wonder, the grandeur and beauty of its architecture. But there soon entered to him fifteen grave and reverend men, in the habit of Monks. Seating themselves beside him, they praised the resolution with which he had entered the Cave; and earnestly warned him, that in the conflict with devils in which he was about to engage, he must certainly perish, soul and body, unless he should retain a firm mind, and should from time to time invoke the name of the Lord Jesus. Having thus warned and encouraged, they left him. Suddenly he heard, around the hall, a yelling, tumultuous noise, so loud and terrible, as if all the  
men

## SECT. II.

men upon the earth, and all the brute animals, had lifted up their discordant voices together. No sooner had this noise alarmed his ears, than a vast multitude of hideous dæmons rushed impetuously into the Hall; scoffingly accosted him; and when they could not by terrour or persuasion, drive him from his purpose of remaining for the destined space of time, within the *Cave*; they then seized and dragged him away eastward, to torment him. They conducted him to another plain of immense extent, where he saw a vast multitude of men and women of all ages, lying prostrate on the ground, and having their bodies transfixed with nails of red-hot iron, by which they were fastened to the earth: These wretched creatures howled bitterly, gnashed their teeth, and bit the ground in anguish: The dæmons trampled upon them, and tore their flesh with scourges. They would have subjected the *soldier* to the same tortures. But, he invoked the name of Jesus; and the devils had then for the moment no power over him. From this scene however, they forcibly conducted him to another vast plain, equally covered with multitudes of sufferers; but who lay in a supine posture. Fiery dragons hovered over them, and tore their flesh with their bills: Fiery serpents twisted their folds round their bodies, and with their fangs stung them to the heart: Toads uncommonly large, and horribly hideous, crawled upon their  
their

their breasts, and laboured to tear out their hearts: SECT. II.

Dæmons ran about, among them, and scourged them with whips, to embitter and augment their pains. From this sight, the *soldier* was conveyed by his dæmon conductors to another scene, which exhibited a multitude of sinners in torments, whose number was apparently greater than that of all the inhabitants of the earth together. Of these, some hung by chains of fire embracing their feet, legs, hands, or arms, or even fastening them by the head or the hair; others hung upon hooks of red-hot iron, thrust into their ears, nostrils, eyes, jaws, breasts, or testicles; and all amid sulphureous flames; while ministering dæmons still scourged them, as they howled. The wondering soldier was then hurried onwards to where he beheld a vast wheel of red-hot iron, having its spokes covered with hooks also of iron equally glowing with heat. On these hung a number of wretches who were at once tortured by the burning hooks, and by a sulphureous flame which arose out of the earth beneath them; while dæmons still turned round it with a degree of velocity that made it seem one whirling ball of fire: Others were transfixed with spits, and roasted before fires, while the dæmons dropped melted metals upon them: Some were burned in furnaces: Some boiled in kettles full of liquid pitch and sulphur. From this scene, the wondering but still resolute *soldier* was

next

SECT. II.

next carried to the summit of an exceedingly high mountain, where he saw a naked multitude of miserable sinners of mankind, exposed, with all the horrors of death upon their minds, to the chilling blasts of the North. Suddenly a furious blast came upon them, and hurried them, with the *soldier* who gazed upon them, from the mountain into a river of cold and foetid water. When they attempted to arise and escape out of the stream, the dæmons eagerly pressed them down, and prevented their flight. Only the *soldier*, invoking the name of Christ, happily reached the bank. He was then quickly conveyed southward by the attending dæmons, to where a noisome sulphureous flame was seen to arise out of a wide and bottomless pit: It bore up in its current, the forms of men half-burnt, and like so many cinders, yet still alive to the acutest feelings of torture. This, said the dæmons, is the mouth of hell, and our place of abode: Here must thou for ever abide with us: Enter here, and thou shalt perish, soul and body, for ever. The *soldier* unaffrighted, would not yet turn back. The dæmons entered the burning pit, hurrying him with them. As they descended, its width seemed to be continually enlarged. For some moments, the *soldier* here forgot to call upon the name of Christ. At the invocation of that holy name, he was immediately borne aloft by the current of the flame.

He

He was then seized by other devils, and carried to <sup>SECT. II.</sup> a broad and fiery river, over which was a bridge, so slippery that it was impossible to fix the feet upon it, so narrow that it was impossible to walk upon it, raised to so awful a height above the flaming stream, that, to look down was giddiness and horror. The *soldier* invoked the name of Jesus, and walked along the bridge with ease and safety. His trials were now ended; and the baffled dæmons fled from his presence. Thus delivered from their temptations, he now looked, and beheld a lofty wall reaching even to heaven, of the most admirable architecture, and materials the most precious. In the wall was one gate, radiant with precious stones, but shut. As he approached, the fragrance of waters issuing out from it, refreshed his weary and exhausted spirits, so as to restore to him the same vivid energy of mind and body, as if he had not been exposed to such terrible trials. The gate was then opened; and there proceeded out of it, in solemn procession, a great company of holy persons, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Monks, and Priests, and many others of both sexes, bearing in their hands crowns of flowers, and branches with golden fruitage, arrayed also every one in the garments proper for his character. These, with joyful gratulation, received the *soldier*, and conducted him within the gate: As they led him in, they sang

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with ravishing harmony, a song of praise and thanksgiving to God who had given him constancy of mind, to meet without shrinking, the torments and temptations to which he had been exposed. The *soldier* was then conducted by two Archbishops to behold the beauties of that heavenly place. The meadows were enchantingly beautiful. Grass and flowers and fruits and trees of all sorts, overspread the ground in the greatest profusion. There night never comes. Multitudes of persons of both sexes, and of all ages there continually sing, in choirs, the praises of their Maker and their God. Some wore crowns, as kings; some wore garments embroidered richly with gold; some wore robes of divers colours. They all rejoiced, each in his own felicity, and in the salvation and felicity one of another. They all blessed the *soldier*, and testified their joy at his fortitude, and at his escape. There the torrid heat of summer or the chilling cold of winter was never felt. They told him that this place was the terrestrial paradise; that here were those first received, who passed through the purifying pains and fires of purgatory; and that all whom he had seen afflicted by the dæmons, should reach this happy place, except those only who had entered within the mouth of the bottomless pit. His venerable guides then conducted him up the side of a mountain, from the summit of which, they shewed him, the gate of the celestial paradise, which  
he

he beheld with transported wonder and admiration. SECT. II.  
 After some exhortations to a pious life, they then dismissed him; and he returned, unannoyed by the dæmons, to the hall in which they had first assailed him. He proceeded then to the gate of the Cave, which was opened to him by, the Monks. His subsequent life was pious, and his end happy.

THIS is one of the finest specimens that remain, of the legends which were repeated among the Scottish Monks of this age, and of those works of imagination and fancy in which these Scots and their contemporaries chiefly delighted.

THE PROPER NAMES of persons, places, and other things to which peculiar denominations are applied; form ever a curiously anomalous part of the language of any country. In almost all instances, they are either of foreign origin; or if of vernacular growth, soon lose to the understanding and the ear, their primary signification, and seem to careless consideration, as if they were not of native descent.

NAMES at their first imposition, in the infancy of language, and of human knowledge, appear to have been always intended as *definitions* or *descriptions* more or less accurate and complete, of the objects distinguished by them. All *appellatives* were

## SECT. II.

Origin of  
appella-  
tive names  
and epi-  
thets.

were at first *proper names*. Enlarged observation, and improving abstraction, applying those first invented *proper names* to a number of similar objects, thus converted them into *appellatives*, and produced a necessity for the invention of so many new names; each of which might be peculiar to some one of those objects which were all comprehended under one common *appellative*; and might, by this means, distinguish that object, in speech, from all the rest. Thus arose the use of *epithets*, which added to *proper names* that had become *appellative*, served to restore to them again the force of proper names. Even these *epithets* were soon also generalized in their use; and terms more susceptible of peculiar appropriation, were to be again invented. In the progress of all languages, it has always become at length necessary to employ, for proper names, words otherwise not obviously significant, and not regularly wrought into the analogy of the language. The fluctuations and revolutions of speech, and of social life, have favoured the accommodation of this necessity.

## Recapitulation.

THOSE words then which in every fully formed language, are the most simple and extensive *appellatives*, were at the origin of that language, *proper names*, and were the first proper names known in it. Its most general and familiar *epithets* or *concrete* terms, were the words first employed to qualify

lity and restrict those names to a proper sense, when <sup>SECT II.</sup> they began to become abstract. After these expedients for the proper denomination of things, had failed; words otherwise not obviously significant began to be the only proper names in common use.

THE progress of *proper names* in the language of the Scots, from the earliest period of the known <sup>Use of proper names in Scotland.</sup> imposition of such names among them, to the end of the thirteenth century; was precisely such as these more general facts describe. Of almost all <sup>Names of places.</sup> the great rivers and mountains in Scotland, the primary names, in the ancient Gaelic or Anglo-Saxon language, being still preserved, appear to be simple appellatives; the names of the rivers, such as the *Dee*, the *Esk*, the *Nith*, implying solely *water*, or *river*; the names of the mountains, such as *Cairnmore*, *Ben* or *Benin*, signifying only *Hill* or *Mountain*. Other names of *rivers*; almost equally ancient in their origin, denote some peculiar quality in the streams to which they have been respectively applied: Such are the *Fleet*, the *Forth*, the *Clyde*, and many others. These last names have plainly been imposed at a later period than were the other names which are more simple and general in their signification. Those names of mountains which appear to have been of *secondary* imposition, have more frequently retained the primary

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ry name in combination with the qualifying epithet, than have the *secondary* names of rivers: *Cruathban-ben*, *Queen-berry* or *berg*, *Crofell*, *More-dun*, *Baran boghle* are instances of this. All other names of places in Scotland, so ancient as the end of the thirteenth, or the beginning of the fourteenth century, consist in this manner, simply of the *appellative* word in the ancient vernacular language; of the appellative word with the addition of an epithet restricting its sense; or of the epithet formed into a new name, without the addition of the appellative.

## Names of persons.

THE *proper names of persons*, in the same period of the Scottish History, appear to have been imposed upon principles nearly similar, but under some diversity of circumstances. The æra had long since passed, at which mankind were so few on the face of the earth, that the word *man* or its representative in any other language, could be a proper name. Individuals of the human species were next denominated by some epithet marking the most prominent quality of each man's personal character, or some remarkable circumstance in his fortune. And a single name only was bestowed on each person. Such was the fashion of personal denomination among the Scots, at the time when the earliest signatures of their remaining written deeds were executed. *Duncan*, *Donald*, *Malcolm*, *Robert*, *Duff*, *Roger*, originally denoted some personal

sonal qualities in the individuals to whom they were SECT. II. respectively applied. But it was natural to transfer the name of the parent to his children; the name of the Lord to his slaves; the name of an estate to its possessors. Hence, all the Gaelic names beginning with *Mac*; the Irish names beginning with *O'*; the Anglo-Saxon and Danish names ending in *Son*. But, the sacrament of *baptism*, administered to the infant, as the first solemn rite of religion receiving him into the communion of Christians, was always celebrated with the conferring of a name upon the new-born Christian, by which he was to be ever after known. A name conferred so early in life, might indeed express the fond wishes and hopes of the parents concerning the future fortune and character of their child, but could not allude to any qualities which the infant had as yet eminently or habitually displayed. Names were therefore bestowed in baptism with little regard, to personal qualities; and the use of *Surnames* was at length adopted in addition to primary names; and these *surnames* were intended as *epithets*, to qualify and restrict the primary name to the particular person who was distinguished by the first name and the *surname* together: *Robert*, for instance, serving, in the name *Robert Bruce*, to distinguish the individual bearing it, from all *Bruces*, children of the same parents; while *Bruce* served to

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to distinguish the *Robert* of the *Bruce* family from other *Roberts*, bearing different surnames. It appears, that the *Norman* fashion was to denominate persons and families chiefly by surnames derived from their estates; that the *Anglo-Saxon* custom was, to impose names taken indifferently from the names of estates, of offices, or of ancestors, or from personal qualities; and that the *Old Gaelic* practice was, to derive the surname of the son, almost always from the name or surname of his father. The first name was now commonly selected out of a large collection of words, which had by degrees come to be appropriated exclusively to this sole purpose. As the names of persons were often derived from the names of places; so were the names of places also taken occasionally from those of their possessors. Hence *Ingleston*, *Kelton*, *Carleton*, *England*, *Scotland*, and a multitude of others, more or less remarkable. It is worthy of observation, that the *Norman* mode of assuming *surnames*, indicates a state of society in which territory is divided and appropriated; the *Gaelic* practice refers to the state of wandering unsettled tribes; but the *Anglo-Saxon* custom, to a condition in which men live together in equal society, practising the arts, but not yet numerous, enlightened, or refined. These different fashions of denomination appear to have been, at this time, almost equally associated, in the practice

practice of the Scots. But the *De* of the Normans, <sup>SECT. II.</sup> began to be gradually laid aside\*.

SUCH then, was the KNOWLEDGE of the Scots, during that period of their History, which we have here surveyed. The improvement of their *mechanical, military, and commercial arts*, had somewhat enlarged their acquaintance with the laws of the material world: The continued accumulation of the productions of industry, by each succeeding generation, co-operated to the same end; Those <sup>Recapitulation.</sup> circumstances in their condition which roused them to extraordinary martial activity, and which reduced all ranks to a sort of equality in danger, and in exertion; served to increase the knowledge and mental ability of them all; and to raise the peasant to an equality of intellect with his Lord. Their *moral* knowledge, best expressed in their most prevalent virtues and vices; and in their legislative institutions, and the administration of justice among them; had become somewhat more correct than in any former period of their History; and was now enlarged by an application of its first principles to a more extensive variety of the relations of social life, and of the events in the fortunes of man-

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kind.

\* See Blind Harry:—Barbour:—Fordun:—Rymer's *Fœdera*:—Anderson's *Diplomata*:—Statistical Account of Scotland:—And in general all the signatures to ancient written deeds.



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kind. The national independence was maintained by a wonderfully firm and enlightened performance of those duties which individuals owed to the *Community* in which they were combined, and by which they were protected. The ancient political structure of the *Community* was still preserved; and it still continued to protect and cherish its members by the ministration of the same public servants which it had anciently employed. The power of the King, if not impaired, was little augmented by the circumstances peculiar to these times. But the power and opulence of the Nobles were greatly increased. The unmilitary part of the Nation fell lower in the political scale: The Clergy even, scarcely maintaining the prerogatives of the Church, amidst the general predominancy of military virtue over all other advantages. The Clergy had become rather more than less enlightened and virtuous, than in former times. Polite literature was little cultivated. The language was a mixture of several uncouth and barbarous tongues: The art of writing was little known, and but very rudely practised. Ballads and legends were the only amusing compositions that were written or admired. The names of places, persons, and things, began to be reduced to that peculiar and irregular analogy under which they have almost ever since remained.

IV.

IV. THE ENJOYMENTS of the Scots in this period, were those which are to be found in the ardent discharge of the duties of patriotism, and in the emotions which swell the heart of valour and firm independence of mind; not those which are yielded by the tranquil gratifications and pursuits of peaceful, civil and domestic life. Those best of enjoyments which are derived from mutual constancy and tenderness of the social affections, were indeed tasted, in no mean degree by the Scots of this age; but these could not be known without bringing with them, all those agonies and sorrows with which the misfortunes of the objects of its affection, never fail to wound the generous and feeling mind. Who shall paint, or even adequately conceive what deep distress Wallace must have felt, when his wife was murdered, as the minstrel of his fame relates, by the English? or Bruce, when he learned, at his return from wandering among the western isles, that his wife was carried away captive, and his brave brothers miserably slain by his foes? Of the Clergy and warriors in general, the condition was not in this period, much more calamitous, than it had been in the foregoing age. But, the women and children, the sickly and the aged were, during all these wars, in a state much more helpless, dangerous, and unhappy, than the same classes had been in, at any other time since the reign of David the First. They were assailed now by the destroying sword of the invader,

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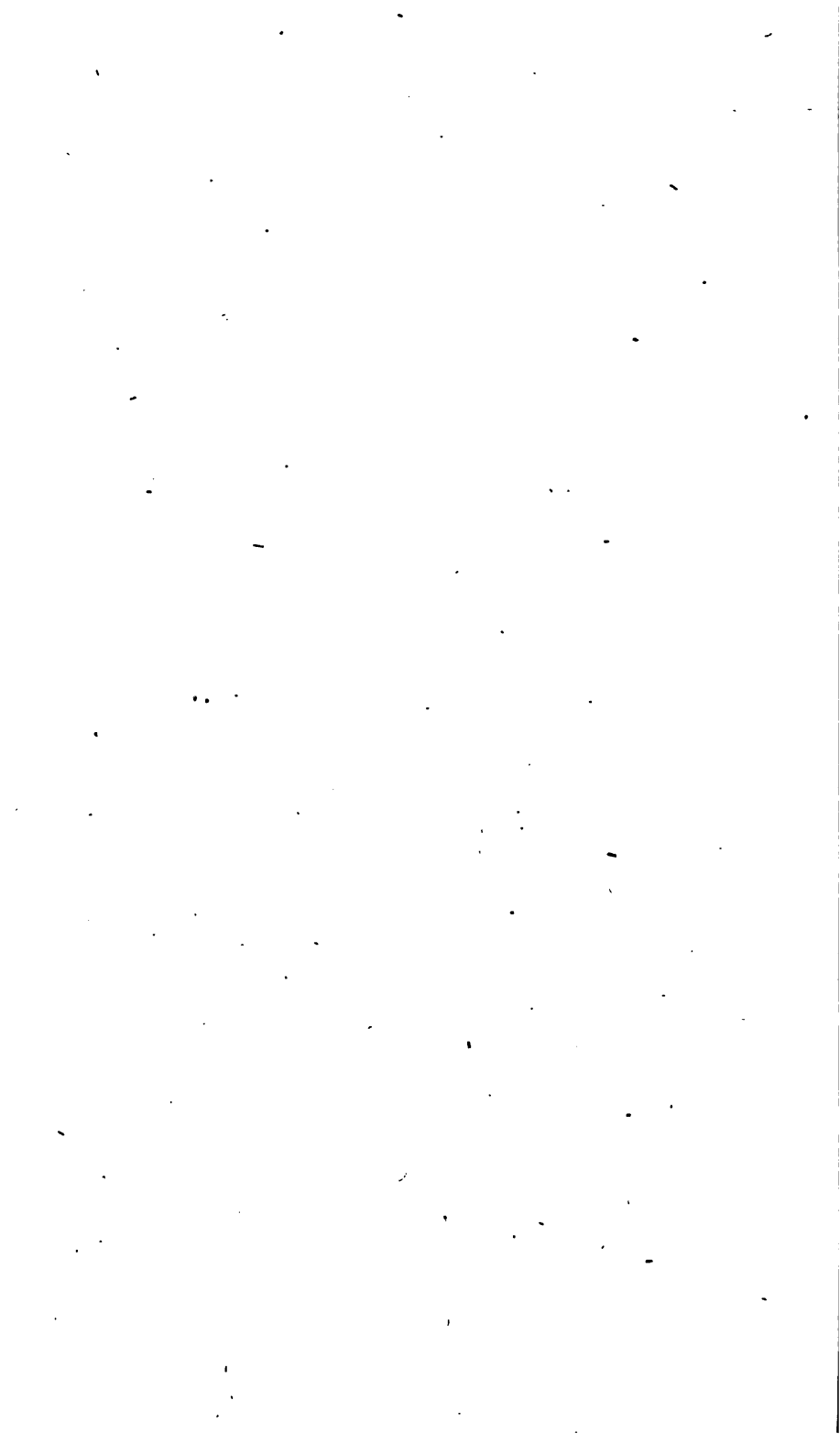
ENJOY-  
MENTS.

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invader, and now by famine still more terribly afflictive. Inasmuch, however, as the knowledge of the Scots, in general, was enlarged, and their arts improved; by so much was their capacity of refined and exalted enjoyment increased. Happiness is something more than the mere absence of pain; otherwise the vegetable and the angel were alike happy. Meaner natures are not capable of the highest pitch of happiness. *Mind* alone is susceptible of enjoyment. Mind must find its highest felicity in the fullest and clearest perception of the good of the universe, particularly of those parts of the universe which are the most immediately within its own sphere of action; and in the conscious promoting of this general good of all nature, in the highest possible degree. Hence is God the happiest of Beings. Hence do his creatures become still happier, in proportion to the enlargement of their knowledge, the expansion of their intellects, and the increase of their benevolence. Hence are mankind still happier and happier in every advancing stage of civilization and refinement. And hence were the Scots of the age of Wallace and Bruce necessarily happier than their fathers in so far as their minds were more enlightened than *theirs* had been. Their *amusements* were few; the chase; the tournament; the mimic exercise of the military arts in peace; the feast at which coarse viands were voraciously devoured, and ale or wine drunk to riotous excess. *Religion* added much to their

their happiness. Its establishments were the sure <sup>SECT. II.</sup> resource of want and beggary; its consolations were ever ready to soothe alike misery of fortune, and wretchedness of mind. The enthusiasm of patriotism and valour was their next best resource for enjoyment.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.



# A P P E N D I X,

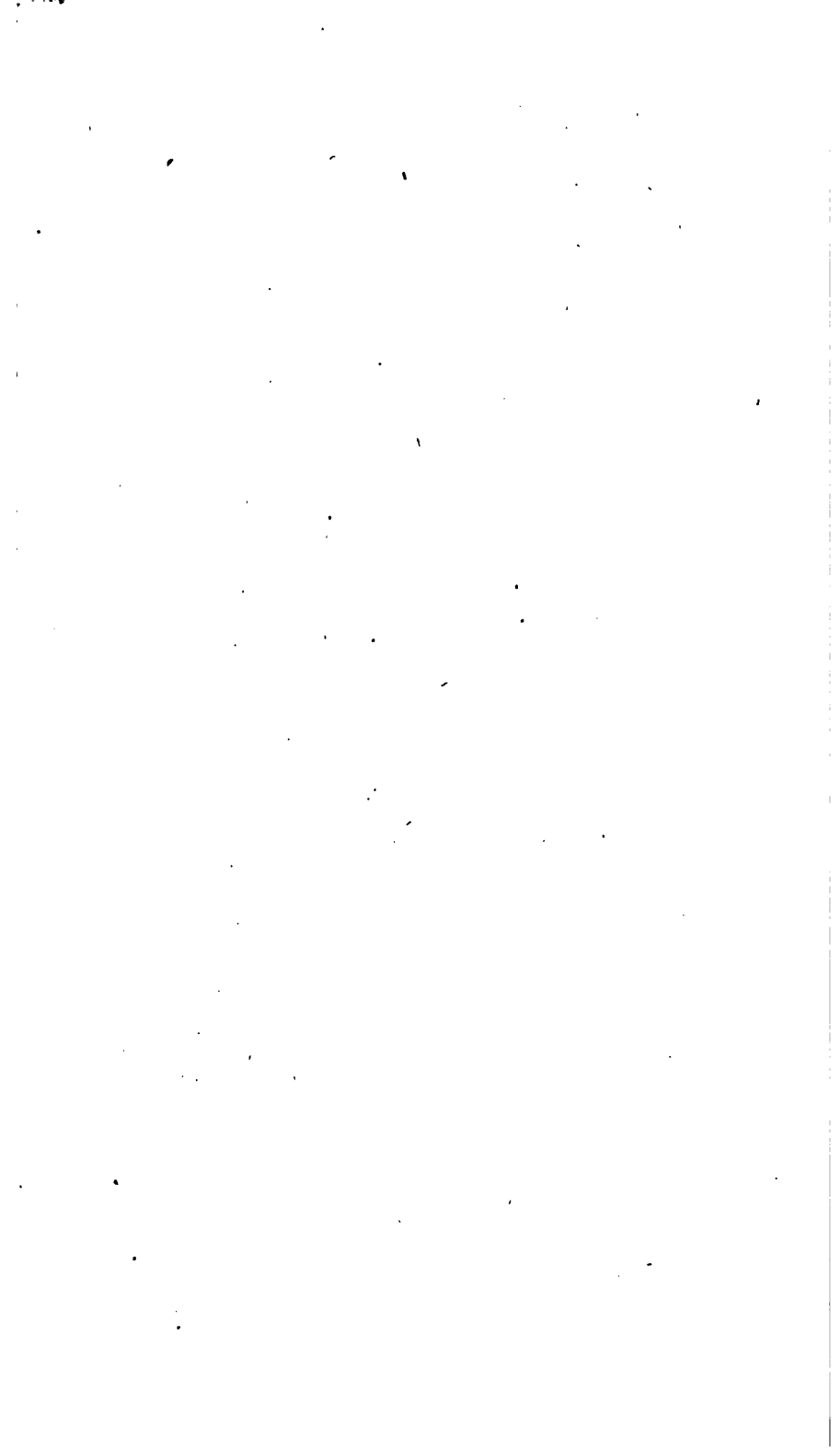
CONTAINING

*CURIOUS EXTRACTS, CHARTERS, &c.*

ILLUSTRATING THE NARRATIVE

IN THE

*PRECEDING THIRD BOOK.*



## A P P E N D I X,

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*Containing curious and important extracts from the Original Historians ; charters ; and some other original papers, necessary to illustrate and confirm the narrative of the preceding book.*

*The CAVE of ST PATRICK.*

THE following account of the fabulous cave of St Patrick in Ireland, quoted in the second section of the preceding book, is one of the best specimens of all the monkish legends of this Age.

MAGNUS PATRICIUS, dum in Hybernia verbum Dei prædicaret, & multis ibi miraculorum signis coruscaret, bestiales illius patriæ homines, terrore Infernalium tormentorum, ac Paradisi amore gaudiorum, à mortuis studuit revocare. Sed ipsi plano sermone affirmabant, se non conversuros ad Christum, nisi oculata fide prius conspicerent quæ promissit. Unde dum beatus *Patricius* pro salute populi in jejuniis, vigiliis, & orationibus positus, Dominum precaretur propensius, pius Dei filius apparens ei, duxit eum in locum desertum, & ostendit illi speluncam rotundam ob-

VOL. II.                      H h h                      scuram



scuram intrinsecus, & dixit; Quisquis veraciter penitens, & in fide constans, hanc speluncam ingressus fuerit, spatio unius diei ac noctis, ab omnibus in ea purgabitur peccatis, quibus in tota vita sua Deum offendit: Atque eam ingrediens, non solum tormenta malorum, sed si in Dei dilectione constanter perseveraverit, videbit & gaudia beatorum. Sic Domino disparente, sanctus *Patricius*, tam pro Domini apparitione, quam pro speluncæ ostensione lætus, sperabat miserum Hybernæ populum se ad fidem catholicam conversurum, & in loco illo confestim oratorium construens, speluncam, quæ in cæmeterio est, ante frontem ecclesiæ circumdedit, & januam cum seris apposuit, nequis eam sine ejus licentia introiret. Canonicos regulares loco illo introduxit, & Priori ecclesiæ clavem custodiendam commisit, statuens, ut quicumque Purgatorium ingredi voluerit, ab episcopo loci licentiam habeat, & cum literis episcopi accedat ad Priorem, & ab eo instructus, Purgatorium intret. Multi autem in diebus *Patricii* Purgatorium intraverunt, qui reversi, testati sunt se tormenta gravia pertulisse, & gaudia magna ibidem & in enarrabilia conspexisse.

MILITE itaque supradicto, angustiosè nimis ab episcopo memorato licentiam postulante Purgatorium experiendi, cum illum cognovisset episcopus inflexibilem, tradidit ei literas suas ad Priorem loci, mandans ut cum illo ageret, sicut fieri solet cum illis qui Purgatorium ingredi deposcunt. Prior autem visis literis, militem in ecclesiam perduxit,

duxit, ubi per dies quindecim orationibus devotus instabat, & illis sic diebus elapsis, manè Missâ à Priore celebratâ, sacra communione militem communivit, adductumque speluncæ introitum, aqua eum benedicta asperxit. Et aperto ostio, dixit: *Ecce nunc intrabis in nomine Jesu Christi, & per concavitatem speluncæ tamdiu ambulabis, donec in campum exiens, aulam invenies artificiosissimè fabricatam: Quam cum ingressus fueris, statim ex parte Dei nuncios habebis, qui tibi piè, quid facies indicabunt.* Vir autem ille virilem gerens animum, ad pugnam dæmonum audacter prorupit, atque omnium se orationibus commendans, frontem suam vivificæ Crucis signo munivit, & intrepidus portam intravit: Et ostio post eum obserato, Prior cum processione ecclesiam repetivit.

MILES itaque per speluncam audacter progrediens, lumen paulatim totius claritatis amisit. Sed tandem parvo lumine apparente, ad campum prædictum pervenit & aulam. Lux ibi non erat, nisi qualis in vespera hîc habetur. Aula parietes non habebat, sed columnis erat per gyrum subnixa, ut Claustrum solet monachorum. Ingressusque eam, & intus sedens, oculos studiosè huc illucque convertit, admirans illius pulchritudinem & structuram. Ubi cum paululum solus sedisset, ecce quindecim viri quasi religiosi, & nuper rasi, albisque vestibus induti, regiam intraverunt: Et salutantes eum in nomine Domini, confederunt. Tunc aliis tacentibus, unus loquebatur cum ipso, dicens:

dicens : Benedictus sit Deus omnipotens, qui bonum tibi propositum inspiravit, ut pro peccatis tuis Purgatorium hoc intrares : Sed nisi te viriliter habeas, corpore & animâ simul peribis. Mox enim, ut hanc domum fuerimus egressi, multitudo aderit Spirituum immundorum, qui tibi gravia inferentes tormenta, minabuntur inferre graviora. Promittent se ductores te ad portam qua intrâsti, si te decipere possint ut revertaris : Sed si tormentorum afflictione victus, vel minis territus, seu promissione deceptus, assensum eis præbueris, in corpore pariter & anima peribis. Si verò fortis in fide, spem totam in Domino posueris, ut nec tormentis, nec minis, nec promissionibus eorum adquieris, sed corde integro eos contemseris, ab omnibus purgaberis delictis, & tormenta malorum videbis, & requiem similiter bonorum. Et quotiescunque te cruciaverint, invoca Dominum Jesum Christum, & per invocationem hujus nominis, statim liberaberis à quocunque tormento, in quo eris. Tecum hic amplius esse non possumus, sed Deo te omnipotenti commendamus.

MILES itaque à viris solus relictus, ad novi generis militiam se instruere cœpit. Cumque intrepidus pugnam dæmonum expectaret, subitò cœpit circa domum tumultus audire, ac si omnes homines, qui in mundo sunt, cum animalibus ac bestiis strepuissent. Et post horridum sonum, sequitur terribilior visus dæmonum. Cœpit enim undique dæmonum deformium innumera multitudo in aulam irruere,

ere, & militem deridendo salutare. Alii homines (inquiunt) qui nobis serviunt, non nisi post mortem ad nos veniunt, sed tu nostram societatem, cui studiosè deservisti in tantum honorare desideras, quod vivens corpus tuum decernis, & animam commendare. Huc venisti ut pro peccatis tormenta sustineres? Habebis nobiscum pressuras & dolores. Veruntamen pro eo, quod nobis curiosè ministrasti, si reverti volueris ad portam quam intraisti, te ducemus illæsum, ut gaudens in mundo vivas, & omne quod corpori tuo suave est, penitus non amittas. Hæc ideò dæmones dixerunt, quia terrore eum & blanditiis decipere voluerunt. Sed miles Christi nec terrore concutitur, nec blandimento seducitur, dum æquo animo ita eos contempnit, quod tacitè sedens, nec unum verbum respondit. At dæmones se contemni indignantes, rogam in aula ingentis incendii succenderunt. Et manus militis pedesque colligantes, in ignem cum projecerunt, uncis ferreis, huc illucque per incendium detrahentes. Et ille in ignem missus, cum priùs grave tormentum sensisset, nomen Jesu Christi invocavit, dicens: Jesu Christe miserere mei. Ad hoc quoque nomen incendium rogi ita extinctum est, ut nec totius rogi scintilla unica appareret. Quod cernens miles, in animo proposuit, ut eos de cætero non formidaret, quos invocato Christi auxilio, vinci conspexit.

RELINQUENTES verò aulam dæmones, militem diutius per vastam regionem quandam detraxerunt: Nigra erat  
terra,

terra, & regio tenebrosa. Traxerunt enim dæmones illum recto tramite, quò sol oritur in æstate. Quò convertentes, cœpit miles quasi vulgi totius orbis miseros ejulatus audire. Tandem à dæmonibus tractus, in campum pervenit longum & latum, miseriis ac dolore perplenum, cujus longitudo non potuit transvideri. Campus ille hominibus utriusque sexus & ætatis diversæ, nudis & in terra jacentibus ventribus deorsum versis, plenus erat, quorum corpora simul & membra clavis ferreis & ignitis in terram usque transfixis, miserabiliter torquebantur. Aliquando autem præ doloris angustia terram comedebant, clamantes & ejulantes: Parce parce, miserere miserere: Cum qui sui miseretur, penitus non adesset. Dæmones etiam super miseros currentes, gravibus eos flagris cædebant, & militi dicebant: Hæc tormenta, quæ vides, sentiendo patieris, nisi nobis adquiescas, ut ad portam, per quam intraisti, revertaris, ad quam si volueris, pacifice deducaris. Sed ille ad mentem revocans, qualiter ipsum Deus alibi liberavit, credere eis omninò contempsit. Tunc Dæmones cum in terram prosternentes, ad modum aliorum configere conati sunt: Sed invocato nomine Jesu Christi, nihil amplius in loco illo, illi facere potuerunt. In alium campum militem trabentes dæmones, hanc ibi differentiam conspexit, quòd sicut in campo superiori, homines afflicti ventres habuerunt deorsum versos, ita in hoc campo dorso solo hærebant. Dracones autem ignei super quosdam sedentes, & dentibus eos igneis corrodentes, modo miserabili affligebant. Aliorum quoque

quoque colla, brachia, & corpora serpentes igniti circumcingentes, aculeos oris sui igneos eorum cordibus infixerunt. Bufones etiam miræ magnitudinis & horroris, super quorundam pectora incumbentes, deformibus rostris suis, eorum corda extrahere conabantur. Dæmones præterea super singulos curfittantes, & flagris asperrimis cædentes, miseros graviter cruciabant, nec unquam à fletu & ejulatu afflicti, cessabant. Inde trahentes militem dæmones, in alium pœnalem campum, invenit ibi tantam utriusque sexus & ætatis diversæ multitudinem, ut totius orbis plenitudinem vincere crederetur. Alii ibi pendebant in flammis sulphureis, igneis cathenis per pedes & tibias immixtis, & capitibus ad ima demixtis, alii per manus & brachia, alii per capillos & capita. Alii pendebant in flammis igneis in uncis ferreis & ignitis, per oculos & nares, alii per aures & fauces, alii per testiculos & mammillas. Nec inter fletus miseros univerforum & ejulatus, flagella dæmonum defuerunt. Cumque militem hîc sicut in aliis pœnis, inimici torquere voluissent, nomen Christi invocavit, & illæsus evasit.

Ab illo pœnali loco, Dæmones militem impellentes, venerunt ad rotam quandam ferream & ignitam, cujus radii & canthi, uncis ferreis & igneis erant undique circumfixi. In quibus homines pendentes, à flamma tetri sulphureique incendii, quæ à terra surgebat, graviter urebantur. Hanc enim rotam dæmones tanta agilitate impingebant vectibus quibusdam

quibusdam ferreis, ut nullum omninò hominem, ab alio possis discernere: Quia præ nimia cursus celeritate nihil nisi ignis incendium apparebat Nec minori tormento vexabantur hi, qui veribus transfixi, ad ignem affati deguttabantur à dæmonibus, ex metallis liquefactis, vel fornacibus cremabantur, seu illi, qui in sartaginibus frigebantur. Vidit præterea miles, trabentibus cum ministris tartareis, domum innumeris caldariis, plenumque piceis sulphureisque liquaminibus, ac diversis repletam bullientibus metallis, homines conditionis & utriusque ætatis continentem. Quorum quidam ex toto, quidam usque supercilia & oculos, alii usque ad labia & colla, alii ad pectus usque & fœmora, alii ad genua usque & crura, alii manum unam vel pedem, alii ambas manus & pedes in caldariis tenebant, & omnes præ doloris angustia vociferabant, ac miserabiliter ejulabant. Et cum coepissent dæmones militem cum aliis submergere, liberatus est Christi nomine invocato.

Unde dæmones militem in montem excelsum impellentes, ostenderunt ei utriusque sexus homines & ætatis diversæ multitudinem copiosam, qui omnes nudi sedebant, & super digitos pedum curvati, & ad aquilonem versi, quasi mortem perterriti, expectabant. Et ecce subito ventus turbinis vehementis, ab aquilone veniens, ipsos omnes & cum eis militem arripuit, & in alteram montis partem, in flumen frigidum & foetidum, flentes & vociferantes, projecit. Et cum de aqua frigidissima surgere conarentur, dæmones su-

pér aquam currentes, in ipso omnes flumine submerferunt. At miles Christi nomen invocavit, & confestim in alia se ripa invenit. Tunc dæmones illum contra Austrum trahentes, & ostendentes flammam teterrimam, & foetore sulphureo plenam, de puteo quodam ascendentem, & homines nudos & quasi igneos, velut scintillas igneas in aërem sursum compellentem, & flammarum vi deficiente, iterum in ignem & puteum relabi. At dæmones militi, dixerunt: Puteus iste flammivomus, introitus est inferni, ubi nostrum habitaculum est: Et quoniam nobis hucusque studiosè servisti, hîc nobiscum sine fine manebis: Et si hunc puteum ingressus fueris, in anima pariter & corpore peribis. Sed tamen si adhuc nobis consentire volueris, & revertaris ad portam qua intraisti, illæsus redibis. Ille autem de Dei adjutorio confusus, qui eum toties liberaverat, eorum exhortationes contempsit. Tunc dæmones indignati, projecerunt se in ignem putei, & secum militem intruserunt: Et quò miles in eo profundius descendit, eò latiore puteum conspexit, & pœnam in illo graviores sensit. In puteo quoque illo miles tantam angustiam sensit & miseriam, ut diu oblitus sit sui adjutoris. Sed Deo tandem illum respiciente, nomen Jesu Christi invocavit, & protinus vis flammæ eum in aërem sursum levavit, ubi in descensione putei aliquandiu attonitus stetit. Sed ecce novi dæmones ex ore putei prorumpentes, dixerunt: Et tu qui hîc stas, cui focii nostri dixerunt, hunc esse infernum, non ita fore scias: Nam consuetudinis nostræ est semper mentiri, ut quos de-



cipere non possumus per verum, decipiamus per falsum :  
Hic non est infernus, sed nunc te ad infernum ducimus.

TRAHENTES igitur militem, hostes novi, cum tumultu  
horrissono, ad flumen quoddam foetidum, latissimum, ac to-  
tum flamma sulphureo incendio coopertum, dæmonumque  
multitudine repletum, dicentium ei, quòd sub flumine illo  
esset infernus. Pons verò protendebatur ultra flumen, in  
quo tria quasi impossibilia videbantur : Unum, quòd ita  
lubricus erat, ut etiamsi latus esset, nullus vel vix aliquis,  
in eo pedem figere possët. Aliud quòd adèò stricctus erat,  
quòd nullus in eo stare vel ambulare valebat. Tertium  
quòd ita altus est, & à flumine remotus, quòd horrendum  
erat deorsum aspicere. Oportet te inquit dæmones, su-  
per pontem hunc ambulare, & ventus ille qui te projecit  
aliàs, flumen projiciet in istud. Et confestim à sociis nos-  
tris, qui in flumine sunt, capieris, & in profundum Inferni  
demergeris. Sed miles invocato nomine Jesu Christi, pon-  
tem audacter ingressus, cœpit pedetentim super pontem in-  
cedere, & quo ampliùs processit in eo, tanto viam largi-  
orem invenit : Unde pontis latitudo in brevi ita crevit, ut  
viæ publicæ amplitudinem præferret. Porro dæmones  
conspicantes militem tam liberè super pontem incedere,  
vocibus suis prophanis ita horridè aërem concusserunt,  
quòd fridore illo magis erat attonitus, quàm illatione tor-  
mentorum, quæ priùs fuerat à dæmonibus perpeffus. Alij  
hostes, qui sub ponte in flumine erant, uncos suos ferreos

& ignitos projecerunt ad illum, sed militem tangere nequeverunt. Et sic demum securè processit, quia nihil sibi contrarium invenit.

MILES itaque invictus jam liber factus à vexatione Spirituum immundorum, vidit ante se murum altum, & in aërem erectum, mirabilis & structuræ impreciables, in quo portam unam, sed tamen clausam cernebat: Hæc metallis ac pretiosis exornata lapidibus, splendore admirabili radiabat. Ad quam cum miles appropinquaret, contra ipsum aquæ tantæ suavitatis odor ei occurrens exivit, ut viribus corporis resumptis, tormenta quæ pertulerat, sibi in refrigerium verterentur. Egressa est autem contra eum venientem, cum crucibus, cereis & vexillis, ac velut palmarum aurearum ramis, tam ordinata processio, quod nunquam talis visa fuerat in hoc mundo. Sequebantur prædicta de omnibus ordinibus utriusque sexus homines, quorum Archiepiscopi alii, & Episcopi, & Abbates, Monachi & Presbyteri, ac singulorum ecclesiæ graduum ministri, qui omnes sacris vestibus & suis ordinibus congruis induti, militem cum jucunda veneratione susceperunt, atque cum concentu harmoniæ inauditiæ infra portam secum sceleriter conduxerunt. Finito itaque concentu, duo Archiepiscopi cum eo loquentes, benedixerunt Deum, qui tanta constantia in tormentis, per quæ transierit quæ pertulit, ejus animam confirmavit. Illis igitur militem per patriam conducentibus, invenerunt & illi ostenderunt præta amoenissima diversis

versis floribus, fructibusque & herbarum arborumq; multiformium decorata, ex quorum suavitatis odore, ut sibi visum est, vivere potuisset. Nox illam aliquando non obnubilat, quia semper cœlesti quadam claritate & ineffabili splendore coruscat. Tantam ibi hominum utriusque sexus vidit multitudinem, quantam residuum sæculi credidit continere non posse. Chori choris per loca astiterunt, ac dulcis harmoniæ concentu, creatorem omnium laudaverunt. Alii quasi Reges corona incedebant, alii amictu aureo induti videbantur, nonnulli variis indumentis erant decorati, juxta quod unusquisque in sæculo utebatur. Singuli de propria felicitàte gaudebant, singuli de aliorum liberatione & gaudio exultabant. Omnes qui militem intuebantur, de ejus adventu Dominum benedicebant, & de ejus ereptione à mortuis congaudebant. Non æstus, non frigus ibi aliquis sentiebat, nec quicquam quod offendere posset vel nocere, videbat.

TUNC sancti pontifices, qui militi patriam tam præclaram ostenderant, dixerunt ei : quoniam misericordia Dei ad nos illæsus pervenisti, rationem à nobis audire debes, de singulis quæ vidisti. Patria hæc terrestris est paradysus, unde pro peccatis suis ejectus est homo primus, hinc verò expulsus in miseriam illam projectus est, in qua homines moriuntur, ex cujus carne nos omnes propagati, & in peccato originali omnes nati, per fidem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quam in baptismo suscepimus, ad hunc paradysum reversi sumus.

sumus. Et quoniam post fidei susceptionem, innumeris actualibus sumus implicati peccatis, non nisi per purgationem peccatorum & afflictionem poenarum huc potuimus pervenire. Poenitentiam enim, quam ante mortem vel morientes suscepimus, & in sæculo non peregimus, in locis quæ vidisti poenalibus, juxta modum & quantitatem culparum per tormenta restant luenda. Omnes enim qui hîc sumus, in locis illis poenalibus fuimus pro peccatis. Et omnes, quos in poenis vidisti, præter eos, qui infra os putei Infernalis existunt, ad hanc requiem perveniunt, & tandem salvi fient. Omni namque die inde aliqui purgati ad nos veniunt, quos in hanc requiem sicut & fecimus te introducimus venientes, nec nostrum aliquis novit, quàm diu hic moraturus sit. Per missas verò, Psalmos, elemosynas & orationes ecclesiæ generalis, & per specialia amicorum auxilia, aut purgandorum tormenta mitigantur, aut de ipsis suppliciis ad minora transferuntur, donec poenitens liberentur. Ecce ut vides, hic in magna quiete sumus, sed nondum tamen ad supernam cœli lætitiâ ascendere sumus digni. Transibimus hinc post spatium à Deo singulis constitutum, in paradysum cœlestem, sicut Deus providerit,

DEINDE præfules venerandi, militem in montem declivem ducentes, jusserunt ut aspiceret sursum. Quo cùm aspiceret, interrogabant, cujusmodi coloris cœlum esset, respectu loci in quo stetit. Qui respondit: colori simile esse auri in fornace ardentis. Hoc inquirunt, quod nunc  
vides,

vides, introitus est cœli & cœlestis Paradisi. Quando enim aliqui à nobis recedunt, hinc in cœlum ascendunt. Et quamdiu hic manemus, quotidie semel pascit nos cibo cœlesti Deus. Et quali hic pascamur cibo, nobiscum senties jam gustando. Vix sermone finito, & ecce quasi radius flammæ ignis de cœlo descendens, patriam totam cooperuit, & quasi per radios super capita singulorum subsidens, flamma demum tota in eis intravit. Unde miles tantam dulcedinis in corde simul & corpore sensit suavitatem, quod vix intellexit, utrum vivus an mortuus fuisset : Sed hora illa in momento transivit. Sed miles libenter ibi mansisset, si ibi iis deliciis frui licuisset. Sed post talia tantâque jucunda, ei tristitia referuntur. Quoniam inquit sancti præfules, & requiem beatorum, ut desiderasti, & tormenta malorum nunc pro parte conspexisti, oportet te jam, ut per eam viam, qua veneras, revertaris. Si autem, quod absit, malè vixeris, amodò ad sæculum reversus, vidisti quanta te expectant tormenta. Si verò benè vixeris & religiosè, securus esto : Quia huc ad nos pervenies, quando de corpore exibis. In isto quoque reditu quo nunc reverteris, nec dæmonum tormenta formidabis, quia dæmones ad te non audebunt accedere, nec tormenta tibi poterunt, quæ vidisti, nocere. Tunc miles flens & ejulans ait, hinc discedere non valeo, quia valdè timeo, ne per fragilitatem humanæ miserix aliquid delinquam, quod me impediat huc redire. Non inquit, sicut tu vis, erit, sed sicut ille, qui & nos & te fecit voluerit, ita fiet. Moerens igitur

igitur & lugens miles ab eis reducitur ad portam, & eo contra voluntatem suam egresso, clauditur porta post ipsum.

MILES igitur *Oenus*, via qua venerat reversus, ad aulam præfatam pervenit. Sed dæmones quos in ipso reditu suo vidit, quasi timentes cum fugerunt, & tormenta per quæ transiit, ei nocere nequiverunt. Et confestim cum aulam intrasset, occurrunt ei quindecim viri supradicti, glorificantes Deum, qui tantam illi contulerat constantiam in tormentis. Oportet te (inquiunt militi) ut quantoties hinc ascendas, jam enim in patria tua clarescit aurora, & nisi portam, Prior aperiens, te invenerit, de reditu tuo desperans, obserata porta, ad ecclesiam revertetur. Sicque miles benedictione percepta, ab eis ascendere festinavit & hora eadem, qua portam Prior aperuit, miles ei festinus veniens, obviavit. Quem cum Christi laudibus Prior suscipiens, in ecclesiam perduxit, ubi cum per dies quindectim in oratione permanisset, signaculum crucis accepit, & in terram sanctam devotus proficiscens, sepulchrum Domini cum locis aliis venerabilibus, in sancta contemplatione petivit. Et inde expleto laudabiliter peregrinationis voto, reversus, Regem *Stephanum* dominum suum adiit, consulturus, ut ejus consilio, in sanctæ religionis ordine reliquum vitæ suæ expleret, ac Regi Regum omnium de cætero militaret. Contigit autem eo tempore, quod *Gervasius* Ludensis cœnobii Abbas, Rege Anglorum *Stephano* donante, locum ad  
Abbatiam

Abbatiam construendam in Hybernia obtineret. Qui monachum suum nomine *Gilebertum* ad Regem direxit, ut ab eo locum fusciperet, & ibi construeret Abbatiam. At *Gilebertus* ad Regem veniens, conquestus est nimis, quòd patrie illius linguam non novit. Sed inquit Rex, bonum tibi interpretem Deo auxiliante, inveniam. Et vocato milite *Oeno*, iussit Rex ut cum *Gileberto* iret, & cum ipso in Hybernia remaneret. Quod miles gratanter annuens, cum dicto *Gileberto* remansus, & fatis ei devotus ministrans, monachalem habitum fuscipere voluit: Quia servus esset, quem Dominus praelegit. Transeuntes autem in Hyberniam, Abbatiam construxerunt: Ubi miles *Oenus*, interpres monachi, devotus extitit, & in omnibus agendis minister fidelis. Quandocunque verò monachus solus alicubi cum milite fuit, de statu purgatorii & poenis mirabilibus, quas viderat & experto didicerat, curiosè ab eo quæsit. At ille qui nunquam audire potuit de purgatorio loqui, quin prorrumperet in fletum amarissimum, cœpit sub sigillo secreti, amico pro ædificatione, ea que audierat, viderat, & experientis didicerat, enarrare: Affirmans sese omnia corporeis oculis conspexisse. Hujus autem monachi industria & diligentia, hujus militis experientia redacta est in Scripturam, simul cum relatione episcoporum regionis, & aliorum religiosorum, qui causa justitiæ perhibuerunt testimoniam veritati.

## No. II.

THE following is a copy of the celebrated epistle, addressed to the Pope, from Robert Bruce and the Scottish Parliament, assembled at Aberbrothwick. It bespeaks the magnanimous spirit, and the clear moral intelligence of the Scottish Nation, better than any other public deed of the Age. It is indeed, one of the most interesting authentic papers that have been preserved to us in the history of Europe.

SANCTISSIMO patri in Christo ac domino, domino Johanni, divinâ providentiâ sacrosanctæ Romanæ et universalis ecclesiæ summo pontifici; filii sui humiles et devoti, *Duncanus* comes de Fyfe, *Thomas Ranulphi* comes Moraviæ, dominus Manniæ et vallis Anandiæ, *Patricius de Dumbar* comes Marchiæ, *Malifus* comes de Stratheryne, *Malcolmus* cōmes de Levenax, *Willelmus* comes de Ross, *Magnus* comes Cathaniæ et Orcadiæ, et *Willelmus* comes Suthirlandiæ, *Walterus* senescallus Scotiæ, *Willelmus de Sowlis* buttelarius Scotiæ, *Jacobus* dominus de Douglas, *Rogerus de Moubray*, *David* dominus de Brechyn, *David de Graham*, *Ingelramus de Umphraville*, *Johannes de Meneteth* custos comitatûs de Meneteth, *Alexander Frazer*, *Gilbertus de Haya* constabularius Scotiæ, *Robertus de Keth* marescallus Scotiæ,

VOL. II.,

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Henricus



*Henricus de Sancto-clara* panetarius Scotiæ, *Jobannes de Graham*, *David de Lindefay*, *Willelmus Oliphaunt*, *Patricius de Graham*, *Jobannes de Fentona*, *Willelmus de Abirniuby*, *David de Wemys*, *Willelmus de Monte-fixo*, *Fergusius de Ardroffane*, *Eustachius de Maxwell*, *Willelmus de Ramesay*, *Willelmus de Monte-alto*, *Alanus de Moravia*, *Dovenaldus Cambell*, *Jobannes Cambrun*, *Reginaldus le Chen*, *Alexander de Seton*, *Andreas de Lescelyn*, et *Alexander de Stratton*, ceterique barones et libere-tenentes, ac tota communitas regni Scotiæ, omnimodam reverentiam filialem cum devotis pedum osculis beatorum. Scimus, sanctissime pater et domine, et ex antiquorum gestis et libris colligimus, quod inter ceteras nationes egregias nostra, sciz. Scottorum, natio multis præconiis fuerit insignita: quæ majori Scythia per mare Tyrrhenum et Columnas Herculis transiens, et in Hispania inter ferocissimos per multa temporum curricula residens, à nullis, quantumcunque barbaris, poterat alicubi gentibus subjugari. Indeque veniens, post mille et ducentos annos à transitu populi Israëlitiçi, sibi sedes in Occidente, quas nunc obtinet, expulsi Britonibus, et Pictis omnino deletis, licet per Norwagiensis, Dacos, et Anglicos sæpiùs impugnata fuerit, multis sibi victoriis et laboribus quamplurimis acquisivit; ipsaque ab omni servitute liberas, ut priscorum testantur historiæ, semper tenuit. In quorum regno centum et tresdecim reges de ipsorum regali prosapia, nullo alienigenâ interveniente, regnaverunt. Quorum nobilitates et merita, licet ex aliis non clarent, satis patenter effulgent ex eo,

quod

quod Rex regum et Dominus Jesus Christus, post passionem et resurrectionem suam, ipsos, in ultimis terræ finibus constitutos, quasi primos ad suam fidem sanctissimam convocavit : nec eos per quemlibet in dicta fide confirmari voluit, sed per suum primum Apostolum vocatione, quamvis ordine secundum vel tertium, scilicet Andream, mitissimum beati Petri germanum, quem semper ipsis præesse voluit ut patronum.

Hæc autem sanctissimi patres et prædecessores vestri sollicitâ mente pensantes, ipsum regnum et populum, ut beati Petri germani peculium, multis favoribus et privilegiis quamplurimis munierunt : ita quod gens nostra sub ipsorum protectione libera hætenus deguit et quieta, donec ille princeps magnificus rex Anglorum Eadwardus, pater istius qui nunc est, regnum nostrum acephalum, populumque nullius mali aut doli conscium, nec bellis aut insultibus tunc assuetum, sub amici et confederati specie inimicabiliter infestavit. Cujus injurias, cædes et violentias, prædationes, incendia, prælatorum incarcerationes, monasteriorum combustiones, religionum spoliationes et occisiones, alia quoque enormia quæ in dicto populo exercuit, nulli parcens ætati aut sexui, religioni aut ordini, nullus scriberet, nec ad plenum intelligeret, nisi quem experientia informaret. A quibus malis innumeris, ipso juvante\* qui post vulnera medetur et sanat, liberati sumus per strenuissimum principem, regem et dominum nostrum, *D. Robertum*, qui, pro populo

et hereditate suis de manibus inimicorum liberandis, quasi alter Macchabæus aut Josue, labores et tædia, inedia et periculo læto sustinuit animo : quem etiam Divina dispositiō, et juxta leges et consuetudines nostras, quas usque ad mortem sustinere volumus, juris successio et *Debitus* nostrorum omnium consensus et assensus nostrum fecerunt principem atque regem. Cui, tanquam illi per quem salus in populo nostro facta est, pro nostra libertate tuenda, tam jure quàm meritis tenemur, et volumus in omnibus adhærere. Quem si ab inceptis desisteret, et regi Anglorum aut Anglicis nos aut regnum nostrum volens subjugare, tanquam inimicum nostrum, et sui nostrique juris subverforem, statim expellere niteremur, et alium regem nostrum, qui ad defensionem nostram sufficeret, faceremus : quia *Quamdiu Centum Vivi Remanserint, Nunquam Anglorum Dominio Aliquatenus Volumus Subjugari*. Non enim propter gloriam, divitias aut honores pugnamus, sed propter libertatem solummodo, *quàm nemo bonus, nisi simul cum vita, amittit*. Hinc est, reverende pater et domine, quòd sanctitatem vestram omni precum instantiâ, genuflexis cordibus exoramus, quatenus sincero corde menteque piâ recensentes, quòd, apud eum cujus vices in terris geritis, non sit pondus et pondus, nec distinctiō Judæi et Græci, Scoti aut Anglici, tribulationes et angustias nobis et ecclesiæ Dei illatas ab Anglicis, paternis oculis intuentes, regem Anglorum, cui sufficere debet quod possidet, cùm olim Anglia septem aut pluribus solebat sufficere regibus, monere et exhortari dignemini,

nemini, ut nos Scotos in exili degentes Scotia, ultra quam habitatio non est, nihilque nisi nostrum cupientes, in pace dimittat. Cui, pro nostra procuranda quiete, quicquid possumus, ad statum nostrum respectu habito, facere volumus cum effectu. Vestra enim interest, sancte pater, hoc facere, qui Paganorum feritatem, Christianorum culpis exigentibus, in Christianos sævientem aspicitis, et Christianorum terminos arctari indies; quantumque vestræ sanctitatis memoria derogat, si, quod absit, ecclesia in aliqua sui parte vestris temporibus patiatur eclipsim aut scandalum, vos videritis. Excitet igitur Christianos principes, qui non causam ut causam ponentes, se fingunt in subsidium Terræ Sanctæ, propter guerras quas habent cum proximis, ire non posse. Cujus impedimenti causa est verior, quod in minoribus proximis debellandis utilitas propior, et resistentia debilior æstimatur. Sed quàm læto corde dictus dominus rex noster et nos, si rex Anglorum nos in pace dimitteret, illuc iremus, qui nihil ignorat satis novit: quod Christi vicario totique Christianitati ostendimus et testamur. Quibus si sanctitas vestra, Anglorum relatibus nimis credula, fidem sinceram non adhibeat, aut ipsis in nostram confusionem favere non desinat, corporum excidia, animarum exitia, et cetera quæ sequuntur incommoda, quæ ipsi in nobis et nos in ipsis fecerimus, vobis ab Altissimo credimus imputanda; Ex quo sumus et erimus, in his quæ tenemur, tanquam obedientiæ filii vobis, tanquam ipsius vicario, parati in omnibus complacere, ipsique, tanquam

Summo

Summo Regi et Judici, causam nostram tuendam commit-  
timus, cogitatum nostrum jactantes in ipso, sperantesque  
firmiter quod in nobis virtutem faciet et ad nihilum redi-  
get hostes nostros. Sanctitatem ac sanitatem vestram con-  
servet Altissimus ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ per tempora diutur-  
na. Dat. apud monasterium de Abirbrothoc in Scotia,  
sexto die Aprilis, anno gratiæ millesimo trecentesimo vice-  
simo, anno verò regni regis nostri supradicti quinto deci-  
mo.

### No. III.

THE following Leonine verses written by William Bas-  
ton, the monk, on the battle of Bannockburn, have ap-  
peared worthy of insertion here. Baston came to sing the  
glories of Edward; but was compelled to celebrate the tri-  
umph of Bruce. These verses are an original record of  
the events of the battle; and a curious monument of the  
taste of the Age.

#### METRA DE ILLUSTRIBELLO DE BANOKBURN.

De planctu eudo metrum cum carmine nudo :  
Risum retrudo, dum tali themate ludo.  
Rector cœlestis, adhibens solamina mœstis,  
Verax est testis, qui prospera ferre potest his,

Quos

Quos vincit restis, pro findone sordida vestis.

Ploro sub his gestis, perimit quos torrida pestis.

Bella parata fleo, lamentans sub canopeo,

Sub quo rege reo, nescio, teste Deo.

Est regnum duplex, et utrumque cupit dominari;

Sed neutrum, supplex vult à reliquo superari.

Dum se sic jactant cum Baccho nocte jocando,

Scotia, te mactant, verbis vanis reprobando.

Dormitant, stertunt, quos irrita somnia mutant,

Fortes se putant, patriæ confinia vertunt.

Explicat exercitus splendentia signa per arva :

Jam sunt dispersi, nimis est virtus sua parva.

Fulminat ad bella præco, clamans dira novella ;

Fellea sunt mella, tantâ durante procellâ.

Nunc armatorum disponunt gesta virorum,

Ne gens Anglorum vires enervat eorum.

Tu fer vexillum, quo Scoti terrificentur,

Agmina post illum belli pro more sequentur.

Arcitenens arcus tendas, nec sis modo parvus,

Illic transmittas hostes perimendo sagittas :

Isthac tu tela vibres, quasi fulgur, anhela

Non te protela, mortem feriendo revela.

Obviet hic illis cum fundis atque lapillis,

Pandens vesana, faciendo concava plana ;

Et loca tu siste, tendantur ut arte balistæ.

Examen triste populus denunciat iste.

Hastæ

Hastæ tolluntur, patriæ satrapes rapiuntur :  
 Sic disponuntur, quòd multi multa loquuntur.  
 Format et informat rex Scotus prælia dira,  
 Sunt equites, pedites, O quàm congressio mira !  
 Clamat rex, animat Scotorum nobiliores,  
 Citat et invitat ad bella viros potiores :  
 Cernit, discernit acies pro Marte paratas,  
 Tales mortales gentes censet superatas.  
 Fatur, solatur turbas populi venientis,  
 Risit, derisit Anglorum foedera gentis.  
 Fortis dux mortis digitos ad bella docebat,  
 Servis protervis, nulli deferre jubebat.  
 Lætus fit coetus, scitis rumoribus istis,  
 Stabit, pugnabit, sic fiet Anglia tristis.  
 Rex fortes unit, et cunctis dat sua jura,  
 Quos armis munit, prædicens bellæ futura.  
 Imbre sagittali minuatur ab inguine sanguis,  
 Turbine lethali stipulet jaculator ut anguis.  
 Hasta teres fodiat proceres spargendo cruorem,  
 Missilibus cum pernicious renovando dolorem,  
 Timba securi pectora cruri scindere curet ;  
 Tela vibrabit, sic superabit, si bene duret.  
 Mucro latet, nil posse patet pro Marte valere.  
 Sors præterit quibus omen erit supplenda replere.  
 Machina plena malis pedibus formatur equinis,  
 Concava cum palis, ne pergant absque ruinis.

Plebs

Plebs foveas fodit, ut per eas labantur equeſtres,  
 Et pereant ſi quos videant tranſire peſteſtres.  
 Advena turba vocatur, Scotica gens numeratur,  
 Prima phalanx ſociatur, regia vis comitatur.  
 Scandere nullus eorum terga valebit equorum;  
 Fient ſic aliorum plures domini dominorum.  
 Exploratores mittunt hinc inde potentes,  
 Multos rumores ſunt inter ſe referentes.

Dira dies ſolis pandit primordia molis,  
 Angligenæ proliſ, hinc exit ab ore ſuo liſ.  
 Arida terra gerit Strivelini prælia prima,  
 Splendida turba ferit, ſed tandem tendit ad ima.  
 Eſt dolor immenſus, augente dolore dolorem,  
 Eſt furor accenſus, ſtimulante furore furorem.  
 Eſt clamor creſcens, feriente priore priorem;  
 Eſt valor areſcens, fruſtrante valore valorem:  
 Eſt calor areſcens, urgente calore calorem;  
 Eſt gens demeſcens, reprobante minore minorem.  
 Eſt ſtupor auditus, geminante ſtupore ſtuporem.  
 Eſt populus tritus, perdente tenore tenorem.  
 Surgit rugitus, fundente cruore cruorem,  
 Nunc timor eſt ſcitus, metuente timore timorem.

Atra dies lunæ peſtem renovat nocituram,  
 Quam vi fortunæ facit Angliſ Scotia duram.  
 Anglicolæ, quaſi cœlicolæ, ſplendore niteſcunt,  
 Magnanimi, tanquam minimi, ſub nube quieſcunt.



Exspectat, spectat gens Anglica quos nece plectat  
 Admotos Scotos ab eis non longe remotos.  
 Plebs plangit, clangit ; sed quam congressio tangit,  
 Nunc plangit, frangit vires quas ictibus angit.  
 Magnifici modici Scotorum sunt inimici ;  
 Muniſci medici poterit victoria dici.  
 Insultus stultus prætenditur ordine cultus,  
 Singultus multus erumpit ab aggere vultus.  
 Descendens, frendens, pedibus gens Scotica tendens,  
 Defendens, vendens sua prodit dira rependens.  
 Hic rapit, hic capit, hic terit, hic ferit : ecce dolores !  
 Vox tonat, æs sonat, hic ruit, hic luit, arcta modo res.  
 Hic fecat, hic necat, hic docet, hic nocet, iste fugatur,  
 Hic latet, hic patet, hic premit, hic gemit, hic superatur,  
 Hic fremit, hic tremit, hic pavet, hic cavet, iste ligatur,  
 Hic legit, hic tegit, hic metit, hic petit, hic spoliatur :  
 Crescit inedia, corpora, prædia diripiuntur,  
 Heu ! mulieres, miles et heres inficiuntur.

Clare comes, venerande fomes, Glovernice cultor,  
 Heu ! moreris, sub strage peris, sic fit Deus ultor.  
 Trux Cliffordensis mucrone retunderis ensis,  
 Ictibus immensis ruis hostibus undique densis.  
 Miles Marſcallus Willelmus, in agmine fortis,  
 Scotorum callus tibi pandit vulnera mortis.  
 Audax Edmunde Mauley probitate virilis,  
 Te gens hostilis superat feritatis abunde.

Belliger

Belliger insignis, Tibetoyt, quasi fervidus ignis  
Easibus et lignis cadis, instat mors tua signis.  
Nobilis Argenten, pugil inclite, dulcis Ægidi,  
Vix scieram mentem, cum te succumbere vidi.

Quid fruar ambage? de tanta quid cano strage?  
Vix poterit tragoedia pandere schismata plagæ.  
Nomina bellantum mea mens nescit numerare,  
Quot, quæ, vel quantum mors novit ibi violare.  
Multi mactantur, multi jaculis terebrantur,  
Multi merguntur, multi vivi capiuntur.  
Boves stringuntur, et munera multa petuntur,  
Jam sunt ditati per eos et magnificati,  
Qui primò strati fuerant velut apporiat,;  
Per gyrum finis loca sunt vallata rapinis;  
Verba repleta minis replicantur et aucta ruinis.  
Nescio quid dicam, quam non sevi meto spicam.  
Linquo doli tricam, pacem colo juris amicam.  
Qui curat plura, scribendi sit sibi cura:  
Est mea mens dura, rudis est vox, ima litura.

Sum Carmelita, BASTON cognomine dictus,  
Qui doleo vita, in tali strage relictus.  
Si quid deliqui, si quæ recitanda reliqui,  
Hæc addant hi qui non sunt sermonis iniqui.

## No. IV.

THE following is the production of another Rhymer, celebrating the same battle of Bannockburn.

## DE QUODAM METRO BELLI DE BANNOK.

M. SEMEL et C. ter, simul X. I. jungito quater,  
 Nato Baptistâ, nova gratia contigit ista,  
 Quòd rex Scotorum, peditum cum parte suorum,  
 Anglos prostravit, equites cum rege fugavit.  
 Rivulus est super hoc testis cognomine Bannok.  
 In quo submersa jacuerunt corpora versa :  
 Quo rex Anglorum, numero fidendo suorum,  
 Armatis populis equitum ter millibus centis,  
 Et peditum turmis circumdatus numerosis,  
 Scotos aggreditur, et eos delere molitur,  
 Recursum facere castro cupiens Strivelinæ.

Te, Strivelina, commendant prælia bina :  
 Gens vi divinâ cadit Anglica, teste ruinâ.  
 Turba ruit procerum, cadit hîc utroque dierum  
 Ad magnum numerum. Fit ibi dispersio rerum.

Gens

Gens cadit Anglorum, fugit et rex tristis eorum.  
 Stat rex Scotorum, fervens in amore suorum :  
 Hic relevat jura, quæ jam fuerant peritura ;  
 Pervigili curâ tollit rex noxia plura.

Annifus totos, quos Anglia pluribus annis  
 Concipit in Scotos, lux obruit una Johannis.  
 Nam rex Anglorum, molitus nomen eorum  
 Funditûs auferre, luit in se prælia guerræ.  
 Arma movet, concepta fovet, perit in pariendo ;  
 Aggreditur dum non fugitur, fugit ipse latendo.

Dedecus affequitur, aggressor quando fugatur.  
 Cui bene consulitur, quòd vel sic se tueatur,  
 Cum paucis fugit in campo rex, ense relicto ;  
 Nec populo patet ulla fugæ via, principe victo.  
 Turba superba ducum, morbum perpeffa caducum,  
 Si tamen evadit, eques antè, pedes modò vadit.

Aspiceres illic proceres aliosque potentes  
 Dispersos, illos merfos, hos ense ruentes.  
 Si forsan vivi fugiunt alii fugitivi,  
 Rupibus et rimis latitant, aut vallibus imis,  
 Dum captivantur. Prosternitur atque fugatur.  
 Forth sepelit multos armis et equis bene cultos,  
 Quos probat indultos alienis ultio stultos.  
 Quos tibi serviles reputabas, Anglice miles,  
 His dum tu viles, opus est fatearis heriles.

Sic levat elisos Dominus dans robora parvis  
 In se confisos, altos prosternit in arvis.

Anglia

Anglia quæ plenis promebas cantica venis  
 Sume sub his pœnis, Jeremiæ consona trenis.  
 Omnibus exosa, dum viribus imperiosa,  
 Omnibus esse fitis, luis hîc incommoda litis.  
 Expertos Scotos metuens, tibi jam bene notos,  
 A modò ne temere contemnas, disce cavere.

Excutit è pannis Anglos lux alma Johannis  
 Sancti Baptistæ, pro quo tibi gloria Christe.  
 Bannok habet limus quorum nec nomina scimus :  
 Quando domi defunt, perpendit gens sua quæ sunt.  
 Palma triumphalis, inimicis exitialis,  
 Scotis dum cessit, his laus saluberrima crescit.  
 Anglica militia bis victa, fugata, perempta,  
 Per loca Forthina fugientum facta ruina.  
 Divitiæ captæ, currus, res undique raptæ,  
 Materiam flendi dat Anglis atque gemendi.

Sic gens Scotorum laudat Dominum dominorum.  
 Inter saxosum fontem castrumque nodosum,  
 Corruit Anglorum gens perfida, fraude suorum.  
 O Deus immense ! quàm justo percutis ense,  
 Colla superborum calcans ! et vòta tuorum  
 Supplens supplicium precibus placatus eorum !

Scotorum cœtus vigeat, virtute repletus :  
 Et rex sit lætus, vertens in gaudia fletus,  
 Anglis prostratis, submersis atque fugatis,  
 Et captivatis. Sit laus regi pietatis.

## No. V.

THE following curious sketch of the Natural History of Ireland, in the state in which it was when invaded by the Scots, is the composition of a Monkish writer, JOHANNES DE HIBERNIA; and is too interesting and too rare, not to deserve insertion here, for the illustration of the Scottish History so far as it is connected with the Irish.

JOHANNES DE HIBERNIA. Gleba præpingui, uberique frugum proventu, felix terra est et fœcunda Hibernia. Frugibus arva, pecore montes, nemorosa feris abundant; pascuis tamen quàm frugibus, gramine quàm grano fœcundior est insula. Multam fruges in herba, pluriman in culmis, minorem in granis spem promittunt: tritici namque grana contracta sunt huic et minuta, et vix alicujus vantage beneficio purganda. Abundè satis et campi vestiuntur, farciuntur et horrea; sola verò granaria destituuntur. Quod ver gignit et parturit, æstas nutrit et provehit, vix in messe pluvialis aquositas colligi permittit: Æolicis namque flatibus et pluvialibus inundationibus, præ aliis terris, hæc exuberat. Collateralis verò Zephyro ab australi parte frequentior et procellosior aliis Corus hinc regnat. Lacus quoque

quoque plurimos et pulcherrimos, piscosos et grandes, præ aliis terris, quas vidimus, quasi speciale quid, hæc terra fert: quæ et mediamnes aliquantulum elevatos et valde amœnos inter se continet; ubi securitatis loca et refugii, propriaque domicilia, et, præterquam navigio, inaccessibilia, dominatores terræ metare solent. Marinis piscibus per omnia latera satis abundant maritima: flumina verò lacusque suis sibi que innatis fœcunda sunt piscibus; et præcipuè generibus tribus, salmonibus viz. et trutis, anguillisque lutoſis. Murænis etiam oculoſis ad divitum catinos abundat; sed defunt eis illi aliarum regionum et dulcis aquæ generoſi piſces, lucii viz. et perticæ, rochiæ, gradiones et gubiones: defunt et minutæ lochiæ, capitones et verones, et ferè omnes qui non ex marinis fluctibus semitivam originem trahunt. Accipitres itaque falcones et niſos, quibus, ad nobilium delicias, animoſa pectora roſtraque recurva et acuta, pedes unguibus armatos aptosque prædæ, natura dedit, præ aliis regionibus hæc copioſè producit. Aquilarum quoque non minorem ibi copiam, quàm alibi milvorum, videas. In tanta verò numeroſitate grues ibi ingruunt, ut in uno grege centum, et circiter hunc numerum, frequenter invenias. Sunt et aves ibi multæ quæ bernaces vocantur, quas mirum in modum, contra quaſi naturam, natura producit; aucis quidem paluſtribus ſimiles, ſed minores. Ex lignis namque adjectivis per æquora devolutis, primò quaſi gummi naſcuntur; dehinc tanquam ab alga ligno cohærente, conchilibus teſtis ad liberioſiorem formationem

formationem inclusæ, per rostra dependent, et sic quousque processu temporis firmam plumarum vestituram inducæ, vel in aquis decidunt, vel in æris libertatem volatu se transferunt, ex succo ligneo marinoque, occulta nimis admirandaque ratione seminii, alimenta simulque incrementa suscipiunt. Vidi etiam et ego conscriptor hujus libri, qui me prius scriptorem intitulavi, ad differentiam scribæ, cum oculis meis semel in S. Andrea plus quàm mille minuta hujusmodi avium corpora, in littore maris ab una protela et grandi alga dependentia, testis inclusa et jam formata. Confimile vidi, et multi mecum semel in Æmonia insula, non tamen tanto numero sicut prius.

FERARUMQUE, quas occidentales pariunt regiones, cunctas fere species continet Hibernia. Habet enim cervos præ nimia pinguedine minùs fugere prævalentes: quantoque minores quantitate, tanto præcellentiùs efferuntur capitis et cornuum dignitate. Sunt et lepores multi, sed minuti, cuniculis quidem tam sui modicitate, quàm delicatâ pilositate, confimiles. Ut autem breviter complectar, omnium animalium, ferarum, et avium corpora hîc, quàm alibi, suo in genere minora reperies, solis hominibus suam retinentibus majestatem. Inter omnia vermium genera solis non nocivis Hibernia gaudet. Venenosis omnibus caret serpentinibus et colubris; caret bufonibus et ranis; caret tortuis et scorpiionibus; caret aspidibus et draconibus: habet tamen araneas et sanguisugas; habet lacertas, sed has prorsus in-



nocuas. Quidam verò, favorabili fati figmento, conjecturant Sanctos Patricium, Columbam et Brigidam pestiferis cunctis insulam purgâsse. Nec mihi mirandum videtur, quòd vermium istorum, sicut et piscium, avium et ferarum quarundam, naturalem defectum patitur : Sed hoc stupore dignum occurrit, quòd in Hiberniam venenosum aliunde advectum nunquam ibi vivum contineri vel potuit vel potest. Legitur namque in antiquis terræ istius Sanctorum scriptis, quòd aliquoties experiendi gratiâ serpentes in ollis æneis delati sunt ; sed, quàm citò medium maris Hibernici transmeaverant, exanimis et mortui reperti sunt. Toxicum quoque similiter, si allatum fuerit, mediis in fluctibus innatâ malitiâ benignior aura privavit. Scrutatores tamen oceani mercatores afferentes audivimus, quòd cum naves in portu Hibernico aliquamdiu exoneraverint, bufones, casu illatos, in fundo navium invenerunt ; quos dum vivos in terram projecissent, statim verso ventre, videntibus et admirantibus muis, medii crepuerunt et interierunt.

CONSTAT igitur, quòd five ex aëris nova quidem et inaudita, benignissima tamen, clementia, five ex terræ ipsius vi quadam occulta et venenis inimica, nec animal venenosum hic subsistere potest ; et venenum quodlibet, aliunde advectum, omnem malignitatis efficaciam prorsus amittit. In tantum siquidem terra hæc inimica veneno est, ut si aliarum regionum seu viridaria, seu quælibet alia loca, pulvere ipsius aspergantur, venenosos abinde vermes procul exterminant.

exterminant. Corrigiæ five coria animalium hujus patriæ confimiliter venenosis obstant. Terra terrarum omnium temperatissima. Non cancri calor exæstians compellit ad umbras: non ad focos capricorni rigor urgenter invitat. Nives hîc rarò, et tunc modico tempore durare videbis. Ex omni tamen vento, non minùs Subsolano Favonioque et Zephyro, quàm Circio et Boreali, ex omni quidem modicè, ex nullo immoderatè, brumescit. Sicut æstivo, sic et hyemali tempore herbose virescunt pascua; unde nec ad pabula fœna secari, nec armentis unquam stabula parari solent. Veris amœnitate temperieque tempora fere cuncta tepescunt. Aëris quoque clementia tanta est, ut nec nebula inficiens, nec spiritus hîc pestilens, nec aura corrumpens. Medicorum operâ parum indiget insula: morbidos enim homines, præter moribundos, paucos invenies. Inter sanitatem continuam mortemque supremam nihil fere medium. Nemo unquam indigenarum hîc natus terram, aëremque salubrem non egressus, ullâ trium generum specie febricitavit: solâ vexantur acutâ, eâque perrarò. Hîc quidem tenor rebus naturaliter inerat: sed, mundo senescente, et tanquam in decrepitæ ætatis senium jam vergente, et ad finem tendente, cunctarum fere natura rerum corrupta et in deterius est mutata.

TANTA siquidem pluviarum hîc jam inundat ubertas, tanta nebularum et imbrium incumbit imparitas, ut vix tres dies, vel æstivos, continuâ serenitate clarescere videas.

Nulla

Nulla tamen aëris turbulentia, nulla temporis intemperies vel fanos et hilares hîc contriſtat, vel etiam delicati capitis cerebrum turbat. Terræ motus hîc nunquam, vix ſemel in anno tonitruum audies. Non hîc tonitrua terrent, non fulmina feriunt, non catacactæ obruunt, non terræ motus abſorbet: non leo rapit, non pardus lacerat, non urſa devorat, non tygris abſumit; nec cibariorum xenia, etiam ab hoſtibus conſecta, ulla veneni ſuſpicio reddit infeſta. Non novercæ privignus, non matronæ, quantumlibet offenſæ maritus toxicata pocula reformidat.

EST lacus in Momonia boreali duas continens inſulas, unam majorem et alteram minorem. Major eccleſiam habet antiquæ religionis, minor verò capellam, cui pauci cœlibes, quos cœlicolas vel Keledeos ſive Colideos vocant, devotè deſerviunt. In majorem nunquam femina, vel feminei ſexûs animal aliquod intrare potuit, quin ſtatim moretur. In minore verò inſula nemo unquam mortuus fuit, vel morte naturali mori potuit; unde et viventium inſula vocatur. Morbo tamen lethali, graviffimè interdum vexantur, et uſque ad extremam exhalationem miſerabiliter afficiuntur. Cùmque nihil amplius ſpei, nihil jam vitæ vitalis ſupereſſe præſentiunt, cùmque, invaleſcente invaletudine, tam finaliter afflicti fuerint, ut morte mori malint, quàm vitam deducere moriſ, in majorem demum inſulam ſe naviculâ deſerri faciunt, qui ſtatim ut terram attingunt ſpiritum reddunt.

EST

Est fons in Momonia, cujus aquis si quis abluitur, statim canus efficitur. Vidi hominem cujus pars barbæ lymphis ejus lota canis incanduerat, alterâ parte in sui natura fuscâ manente. Est è contra fons in Lagenia, quo si quis abluitur, non canescet amplius. *Sunt hæc Johannis de Hibernia.* Sunt et alia quàm admiranda Hiberniæ mirabilia, de quibus ista sufficiant. Nunc ad annalia revertamus.

## No. VI.

**I**N my enquiries concerning the *Weights and Measures* of the Scots in the period of their History comprehended in this Volume; I took occasion to look into the Old Laws of France, in hopes of finding there something which might serve to illustrate the subject of my enquiries. The following extract from a very rare collection of those laws; notwithstanding the lateness of the dates of the statutes it contains; reflects considerable light on the Old Weights and Measures of Europe, and serves to justify the principles stated in the Text of this History.

TITRE

De la reduction des poids & mesures à vne façon  
& grandeur par tout le royaume de France.

*Que toutes les aunes seront egales par le Royaume de France, & qu'il  
n'y aura que vne seule forme d'auner.*

FRANCOIS I. En l'an 1540.

FRANCOIS par la grace de Dieu Roy de France, à tous  
presens & à venir, Salut. Comme il soit venu à nostre  
notice et cognoissance, que pour la diuersité des aunes, au-  
nages & forme d'auner, & des noms des mesures seruans à  
ceste fin, tant à nos bonnes villes, & citez, qu'autres lieux  
de nostre royaume, pays, terres, & seigneuries, par ci deu-  
ant plusieurs, fautes, fraudes, & abus se sont ensuyuis esdits  
aunages, tant en draps d'or, d'argent, de soye, draps de  
laine, toilles que canevas & autres marchandises qui sont  
suietes à aunage, avec plusieurs procez & differens, au grand  
interest de nous & de nos suiets & chose publique, & pour-  
roit pulluler & continuer ci apres à l'aduenir, si par nous  
n'estoit sur ce pourueu.

SCAUIR faisons, que nous desirans toutes fraudes, fautes,  
abus & maluersations cesser & estre corrigees de nostre  
temps,

temps, & entre nos suiets estre gardee equité, foy & loyauté, obuier & extirper tous procez & differens, qui auient & sont auenus par ci deuât, au moyen des fraudes, abus & larrecins faits sur le fait & forme desdites aunes & aunages : auôs dit, declaré, statué & ordonné, & par ces presentes, par l'aduis & deliberation de nostre conseil, disons declarons & ordonnons, voulons & nous plaist de nostre certaine science, pleine puissance & autorité Royal qu'une seule forme d'auner soit establie & ordonnee en nostre royaume, pays & seigneuries, qui aura de longueur trois pieds, sept pouces & huit lignes, le tout à toise.

Et fera la forme d'auner fust à fust, sans donner aucun poulce & euent, ne quelconque aua tre auantage outre, ne plus atant que la dessusdite longueur & iuste mesure d'icelle aune, qui sera nommee l'aune du Roy, dont sera premièrement par le preuost de Paris, ou ses lieutenans ciuil & criminel, presens nos aduocat & procureur audit lieu, & autres, qui pour ce seront à appeler fait & adiufté vn estallon de fer, ou cuyure de ladite longueur & forme d'aune, pour estre mise en garde en vn coffre ou lieu public, sous la garde de ladite preuosté. Et semblables serôt faites, mises & tenuës en nos bonnes villes & citez d'Amiens, Tholose, Bourdeaux, Orleãs, Lyon, Bourges, Poictiers, Angers, Tours, Rouën, Dijon, Troyes, Meaux & Carcassonne, qu'au tres villes, lieux & places, tant à nous appartenans nuement, qu'aux princes & seigneurs de nostre sang, prelatz,

lats, comtes, barons, chaffelains, qu'autres quelconque ayans droict d'aunage, qui feront tenus icelles prendre sur lefdits estallons, en celle desdites villes ou citez, que bon leur semblera : pour aufdites aunes & non autremēt estre mesurez, tant en vente, en gros, que detail, qu'en premiere, seconde, & toutes autres ventes & reuentes, tous draps d'or d'argent, de soye, draps de laine, toilles & caneuas, de quelque estat & qualité que soyent lefdites marchandises.

LESQUELLES aunes seront marquees à nos armes & à chacun des bouts & coings de nosdites villes, citez, lieux & places à nous nuement appartenans, & és autres des armoiries desdits princes, prelatz, ducs, comtes, barons, chaffelains, & autres ayans droict d'aunage, sans ce qu'il en puisse estre aucunemēt vsé, deux mois apres la publication de ces presentes : sur peine, c'est à scauoir aufdits ducs, prelatz, comtes, barons, villes, citez & autres ayans droict d'aunage, de priuation, tāt dudit droict que de leurs iurisdicions : & à tous courriers & auncurs, de priuation de leurs estats & offices, de punition corporelle & amende arbitraire, & aux marchans vendans & achetans, de confiscation des denrees & marchandises, qui seroyent par eux achetees & vendues, autrement qu'à ladite aune & forme d'auner, en abolissant tous autres noms & denominations & toutes autres quantitez & mesures, pour le fait dudit aunage, que celle dont dessus est faite mention, sous les peines deuant dites.

Si donnons en mandement au preuost de Paris, &c.  
Donné à Esureux au mois d'Auril l'an de grace, mille cinq  
cens quarante : & de nostre regne le vingtfixieme. Ainsi  
signé sur le repli, Par le Roy en son conseil. Et au des-  
sous. BOCHETEL. Visa. Et scellé du grand seal de cire  
verte en laps de foye.

LEU & publié en iugemēt en l'auditoire ciuil du chaste-  
let de Paris, és presences des gens du Roy, & des conseil-  
lers, d'iceluy seigneur, aduocas procureurs & practiciens  
assistans audit chastelet : & ordonné ces presentes estre en-  
registrees, le ieudi trezieme iour de May, l'an mille cinq  
cens quarante.

*Declaration & modification sur l'edict precedent, declarant que  
les drappiers puissent mesurer selon l'ancienne forme & coust-  
ume, non fust à fust comme les autres marchans.*

FRANCOIS I. En l'an 1543.

FRANCOIS par la grace de Dieu Roy de Frâce, à tous  
ceux qui ces presentes lettres verront, Salut. Comme nos  
chers & bien amez les conseillers & escheuins de nostre  
bonne ville & cité de Lyon, nous ayent par ci deuant pre-  
seuté requeste contenant que les marchans tant de nostre  
VOL. II. N n n royaume



royaume que autres estrangers frequentans nos foires dudit Lyon, & aussi les vendeurs, acheteurs & faisant le train de drapperie de laines leurs auroyent remonsté que nostredit edict & ordonnāce par nous faits au mois d'Auril, mille cinq cens quarante, sur la forme & maniere d'auner, leur estoit & est grandement dommageable, preiudiciable, & insupportable en ce seulement qu'il est ordonné auner fust à fust lesdits draps de laine, pour les causes & raisons qui s'ensuyuent : Premièrement, par ce que lesdits draps de laine sont d'autre forme & nature que ne sont les draps d'or, de soye & de toilles suietes à auner, par ce que lesdits draps d'or, de soye & de toilles sont fermes, & ne se peuvent estendre comme font les draps de laine, qui sont mols & obeissans tant par la liziere, que par le dos, de sorte qu'on ne les scauroit iustement auner fust à fust. Car en mesurant lesdits draps de laine fust à fust, ainsi qu'il se fait desdits draps de soye & toilles, il conuiendrait que vne personne tienst l'aune, & vne autre personne le drap à deux mains, & le presenter sur l'aune : & ce faisant on ne scauroit si peu tirer le drap de laine, & le tenir de roideur le lōg de l'aune, qu'il ne s'estende d'un poulce ou deux par aune, selon l'obeissance du drap qui seroit tiré & tenu en roideur, tellement que sur un drap de quarante ou cinquante aunes s'y trouueroit deux aunes de tare, & chacune fois qu'il seroit aussi auné fust à fust, autant de fois y seroit trouué diuersité & difference d'aunage. Car impossible seroit tenir le drap de laine tousiours en vne raison & roideur,

deur, qu'il ne soit plus roide, ou plus lasche vne fois qu'autre : qui causeroit plus d'abus à ceux qui voudroyent maluerfer, au gros detrimēt de nostre pauvre peuple vendant & achetant lesdits draps, dont aduiendroit differēt par tout nostredit royaume, & vn dommage inestimable. Car pour auner ainsi fust à fust, il y faudroit communément estre quatre personnes : à scauoir l'vn qui tienst l'aune en l'air, l'autre le drap, vn autre qui baillast & l'aschat le drap à celuy qui le presenteroit à l'aune, & vn autre qui receuroit le drap à cause de la pesanteur : qui seroyēt gros frais, & lesdits quatre personnes ne scauroyent auner fust à fust en six iours autāt de draps que feroit & fera vne personne aunāt tout seul avec le poulce en la maniere accoustumee sans defrober lesdits draps. Et la grand longueur d'aunage causeroit que bien souuent tous les draps qui se vendroyent sur la fin desdites foires de Lyon, qui est le temps que se fait la grand vente, ne se pourroit faire dedans le temps de la franchise. Et pourtant seroyent les marchans contrains payer les charges, impositions & issues comme s'ils n'estoyent venus à la foire, qui seroit cause de les destourner, & de ne plus y venir, & par consequent l'anichillement d'icelles foires. Et au contraire, en faisant l'aunage d'iceux draps de laine en la maniere accoustumee, à scauoir coucher le drap sur vne table par vn seul mesureur tenant l'aune d'une main qu'il couche sur ledit drap, lequel il tient de l'autre main, mettāt le poulce & euent au bout de l'aune. Ce faisant ne pourroit ni ne peut frauder ne tenir le drap  
en

en autre roideur que de sa nature, & en mesurerait iustement le mesureur plus en vn iour que lesdits quatre personnes ne feroient fust à fust en six iours, & ne seroit ledit drap retourné ne detourné, mais demeureroit l'aune qu'il nous auroit & a pleu ordonner en sa longueur & estat, joint ledit poulce & euent pour aune quant ausdits draps de laine seulement. Nous humblement requerans lesdits supplians que pour obuier aux fautes & abus qui s'y pourroyent perpetrer & commettre, & entretenir le train & manufactures d'iceux draps de laine, qui est le plus grād & fructueux profit de nostredit royaume, & qui nourrist la pluspart de nostre peuple: nostre plaisir fust ordonner qu'en entretenant l'aune de sa longueur par nous ordonnee par tout nostredit royaume, soit permis & loisible faire le mesurage d'un poulce & euent pour chacune aune en la maniere accoustumee, quant ausdits draps de laine seulement, & sur ce leur impartir nostre grace: laquelle requeste par eux ainsi à nous presentee, nous aurions enuoyee à nostre preuost de Paris, ou son lieutenant, pour soy informer & enquerir de la verité du contenu en iceluy: & apres nous renuoyer ladite information qui seroit ainsi par luy faite avec son aduis, à fin de pouruoir ausdits supplians, ainsi que de raison: suyuant lequel renuoy nostre amé & seel conseiller maistre Jean Iaques de Mesmes, lieutenant ciuil de nostredite preuosté, procedant à faire ladite information & inquestion, auroit procedé à soy informer & enquerir sur le contenu en icelle: & l'information par luy  
sur

sur ce faite renuoyee avec son aduis par deuers nous & nostre conseil priué : par lequel et pour les causes plus à plein y contenues & declarees, luy semble que nous deuons ordonner que les draps de laine soyent aunez d'oresenauant selon la forme ancienne & accoustumee d'auner, en baillant poulce & euent deuant, & non point fust à fust sans poulce & sans euent, ainsi qu'il est contenu par l'ediect ci deuât par nous fait d'auner lesdits draps de laine fust à fust, & que cela sera nostre grand profit & de nostre royaume, en gardant touterfois l'aune & mesure par nous ordonnee, qu'il suffira d'auner fust à fust sans euent les draps de soye & autres semblables.

SCAVOIR faisons, que nous desirans sur toutes choses le commerce & traffique de marchandise de drap estre entretenu en nostredit royaume, comme estant l'un des principaux profits de nos suiets & chose publique, ensemble la maniere & façon ancienne d'auner lesdits draps garder & obseruer, & obuier aux grans pertes & dommages qui pourroyent aduenir à nosdits, suiets & chose publique, s'ils estoient contrains d'auner lesdits draps fust à fust en la maniere & forme d'auner nouuellement trouuee & inuentee. Pour ces causes & autres considerations à ce nous mouuans, & eu sur ce semblablement l'aduis des gens de nostre conseil priué, auons de nos certaine science, pleine puissance & autorité Royal par ces presentes dit, déclaré, voulu & ordonné, disons, declarons, voulons & nous plaist  
par

par edict, statut & ordonnance perpetuels & irreuocables que lesdits draps de laine soyent d'oresenauant & par ci apres aunez selon la forme ancienne d'auner, en baillant par les auneurs d'iceux poulce & euent, & non fust à fust sans poulce & euent, ainsi qu'il est contenu par iceluy edict. Et en gardant toutesfois l'aune & mesure par nous ordonnee.

Si donnons en mandement par ces dites presentes, &c. Donné à Paris, le vingtieme iour de Iuillet, l'an de grace mille cinq cens quarantetrois : & de nostre regne le vingt-neufieme. Ainsi signé sur le repli. Par le Roy en son conseil. ROBERTET.

*REGISTRATA audito procuratore generali Regis hoc consentiente Parisiis in Parlamento, ultima die Iulij, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimotertio. Signé, BERRVYER.*

*REGISTRATA audito procuratore generali Regis, Rothomagi, in Parlamento die prima Aprilis, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimotertio. Signé, SYREAY.*

*Lettres*

*Lettres de commission pour la reduction des poids & mesures à une forme, qui seront appelez poids & mesure de Roy.*

*HENRI II. En l'an 1557.*

**H**ENRI par la grace de Dieu Roy de France, au premier de nos amez & feaux presidens, maistres des requestes ordinaires de nostre hostel, conseillers de nostre cour de Parlement, & maistres ordinaires de nostre chambre des comtes sur ce requis, Salut. Comme en toutes les duchez, marquisats, comtez, vicomtez, baronnies, chastellenies, villes, terres, iurisdicions de nostre royaume & pays de nostre obeissance y ait poids & mesures. la pluspart differentes de nom, appellation & grandeur, & soit ainfi qui bien souuent les habitans de l'une desdites villes ou lieux ne scauent ni entendent les noms, appellations, poids & grandeur des autres : dont prouient que ceux qui n'ont cognoissance desdits poids & mesures, cuidans prendre ou acheter les denrees & marchandises aux poids, prix & mesures, plus petis que ceux qu'ils euident & estiment acheter : aussi les receueurs & officiers, tant de nostre domaine que desdits ducs, marquis, comtes, vicomtes, barons, chastelains, seigneurs & autres, en receuant les blez, cens, & rentes, les font aucunesfois payer à une mesure pour l'autre, & bien souuent plus grande que celle que les suiets la doyuent bailler, & apres en vendant lesdits blez, & grains, ou en  
rendant

rendant comte à leurs maistres, les rendent, ou vendent & content à plus petite mesure & pareillement les marchans & autres vendans, & debitans marchandises, & denrees à mesure & poids ont souuent deux poids, plus petis les vns que les autres : & en lels receuant les mesurent à grandes mesures, ou à grand poids : & quand ils les vendent, les mesurent & poisent à poids plus petit. Et sur ce ont esté & sont encore commis plusieurs autres fraudes, abus & maluersations, dont s'en sont ensuyuis & ensuyuent plusieurs questions, procez, & differens entre nos suiets, qui est cause de les constituer en grans frais, despens, trauail & vexations, comme il seroit encores plus à l'aduenir, si sur les troubles & confusions n'y estoit pourueu de quelque clair & certain remede, qui ne pourroit estre meilleur q de reduire tous lefdits poids & mesures à vn, & selon icoux poids & mesures ainsi reduits, faire regir & gouuer ner tous nos suiets. Et pour cest effect, & faire ladite reduction commettre & deputer quelques personnages notables à nous seurs & seables : nous à ces causes vous auons commis & député, & vn chacun de vous, & le premier sur ce requis commettons & deputons, pour proceder à ladite reduction desdits poids & mesures, tant nostres que desdits princes, prelates, ducs, marquis, comtes, vicomtes, barons, chastellains, & autres ayans droit de poids & mesure, soit de blez ou autres grains, vin, sel, huile, & tous autres viures, marchandises, denrees qui ayent accoustumé d'estre vendues, troquees ou debitees, ou bien deuës de rente ou

censue

tenfue aufdits poids & mefures, & en ce faifant iceux poids & mefures reduire (en adiouftant ou diminuant) à vn feul poids & mefure, qui feront dits, nommez & appelez par tout noftredit royaume & pays de noftre obeiffance, le poids & mefure de Roy. Et pource que noftre ville de Paris eft la principale & capitale de noftre royaume, en laquelle eft le premier & le principal fiede de nos Parlemens & iuftices, nous voulons la reduction defdites mefures, & execution de noftre prefente commiffion eftre premierement faite en ladite ville, pour ladite reduction faite, & à l'exemple d'icelle eftre apres gardé, obferué, & entretenu en toutes les autres villes & prouinces de noftre royaume. Et pour ce faire, nous voulons & ordonnōs que par deuant vous lefdits feigneurs qui pretendent droit de poids, & mefures en noftredite ville, fauxbourgs, & banlieuē de Paris, foyent tenus de bailler les noms & denominations de leurfdites mefures & poids, du plus grand iufques au plus petit, pour proceder á ladite reduction, & icelle faite, voftre procez verbal, & ce que par vous en aura efté fait, eftre rapporté par deuāt nous : pour (le tout veu) eftre par nous pourueu, comme nous verrons eftre à faire par raifon. De ce faire vous auons donné & donnons plein pouuoir, autorité, commiffion, & mandement fpecial par ces prefentes : car tel eft noftre plaifir : nonobftant quelconques edicts, ordonnances, reftrictions, mandemens, defenfes, & lettres à ce contraires. Donné à Villiers-costerets le vingtieme iour de May, l'an de grace mille cinq cens



cinquantesept : & de nostre regne l'onzieme. Par le Roy  
estant en son conseil. Signé, DV THIER.

*La reduction des mesures de charbon & auoine à l'ancienne  
mesure.*

CHARLES IX. En l'an 1563.

CHARLES par la grace de Dieu Roy de France, à tous  
ceux qui ces presentes lettres verront, Salut. Ayant en-  
tendu en nostre priué conseil les remonstrances faites en  
iceluy par nostre amé & feal conseiller & procureur general  
en nostre cour de Parlement à Paris, & le procureur de  
nostre bonne ville & cité dudit Paris, de l'incommodité  
que rapportoit à ladite ville & au public la reduction de la  
petite mesure à charbon & auoine : & veu en nostredit  
conseil l'information faite sur la commodité ou incommo-  
dité de la reduction de ladite mesure : auons par l'aduis  
d'iceluy dit, déclaré & ordonné, disons, declarons & ordon-  
nons ladite mesure de charbon & auoine estre reduite, &  
laquelle nous reduisons par ces presentes, à l'ancien septier,  
qui est de vingtvn boisseau : à laquelle ancienne mesure, &  
non autrement, nous voulons la vente desdits charbon &  
auoine estre d'oresenauant & cy apres faite. Et ce nonob-  
stant l'edict & ordonnance sur ce faits par defunct nostre  
treschonoré

treſſhonoré ſeigneur & pere (que Dieu abſolue) que nous auons pour ce regard, & fans y preiudicier en autres choſes y contenues, reuoquez & reuoquons par ceſdites preſentes.

Si donnons en mandement, &c. Donné à Fontainebleau le vingtynieme iour de Feurier, l'an de grace mille cinq cens ſoixantetrois : & de noſtre regne le quatrieme. Par le Roy en ſon conſeil. BOVRDIN.

*LECTA, publicata & regiſtrata, audito, conſentiente & requirente procuratore generali Regis, Pariſiis in Parlamento, ſeptima die Martij, anno Domini milleſimo quingentefimo ſexageſimotertio. Sic ſignatum, DV TILLET.*

## No. VII.

THE following Bull of Pope Innocent IV. was indeed iſſued during the minority of Alexander III. But, as it throws much light on the relation between the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers in Scotland, and on the authority which the Pope pretended to exerciſe over the Scottiſh Church and State ; it is inſerted here ; having been omitted at the cloſe of the Firſt Volume.

BULL

## BULL OF POPE INNOCENT IV.

**I**NNOCENTIUS Episcopus, &c. Venerabilibus fratribus  
 Lyncoln, Wygorn, et Lycchefelden. Episcopis, salutem et  
 Apostolicam benedictionem. Clamant in auribus nostris  
 Scoticana ecclesia, et adversus eos, qui fidelem Scotiae vi-  
 dentur regere populum, et heredem illius Christianissimi  
 Regis, adhuc impuberem, obtinere suae potestati subiectum,  
 multiplicem se habere proponit materiam questionis, et ca-  
 ritativa quidem in illos primum querela dirigitur, pro rege  
 puero et pro regno, quod videlicet eidem regi pupillo bené  
 non consultant, dum thronum ejus novi aulici ascendentes,  
 amotis sanitatis consiliis, quibus providus eum suffulcerat  
 vivens adhuc patrius affectus, justitiâ et judicio non con-  
 formant, nec in sua regnum ipsum integritate conservant.  
 Dum iidem novi aulici novis consiliorum machinis ecclesi-  
 asticam impetunt libertatem, quam profecto qui violant,  
 principum robur quo fides viget catholica, et regia dirigitur  
 celsitudo, confringunt. Inter caetera quae in derogationem  
 ecclesiasticae potestatis in partibus illis ministri regni et lo-  
 corum domini post obitum clarae memoriae Regis Scotto-  
 rum, quem fides et libertas ecclesiae Christianissimum ha-  
 buit defensore, sub rege tenerae indolis attemptare dicun-  
 tur, nemini videri non debet absorum et absurdum, et di-  
 vini et humani judicii animadversione plectendum, quod  
 cum ecclesiarum prelati excommunicationis, vel interdicti,

scu

feu suspensionis sententias, ob contumaciam seu offensam proferunt in subjectis, ad eos, ut hujusmodi sententias revocent, literatoria sub nomine regis jussu manant, qui nisi praeceptioni pareant, ad id per bonorum suorum confiscationem sacrilegam compelluntur, sicut aliquibus ejusdem regni episcopis dicitur contigisse.

SUPER possessionibus quoque, seu rebus quas in jus divinum pia contulit largitas devotorum, clerici per regia trahuntur edicta contra cleri privilegium ad judiciumulare, nec adiuntur jus publicum allegantes, sicque per judicis incompetentis injuriam nonnunquam ecclesiae suis possessionibus spoliuntur. Et praeterea, cum aliquibus possessionibus clericis in eleemosynam a laicis perpetuam donatis, nihil sibi praeter exercitum ad defensionem regni et communis auxilium retinent donatores, iidem ministri et alii laicorum favore suffulti, per adjectionem hujusmodi praedictas possessiones laicantes fore censentes, eas in omnibus paris conditionis efficiunt, cum possessionibus laicorum, et in divini juris dispendium, interpretatione perversâ donatorum munificentiam restringentes, laicae subjiciunt servituti. Non attendentes quoque quod laicis, quantumlibet religiosi de rebus ecclesiasticis nulla est possibilitas distribuendi attributa ecclesiastica praedia, invitis et contradicentibus dominis, limitare propriâ temeritate, et de ipsorum finibus in quorum possessione pacifica ecclesiae fuisse noscantur per tempora longiora, sequentes interdum perjuria laicorum, qui

qui clericis quidem sunt infesti, [et] proferunt pro laicis contra clericos iniqua judicia, quae tandem per spoliationis violentiam exsequuntur; porro de jure patronatûs, quam sit spiritualibus causis annexum nemo ferè non novit; sed licet per hoc quod explorati sit juris, illud ad judicium ecclesiastici examinis pertinere de generali, et jure consentaneâ regni praedicti consuetudine, sit obtentum; id tamen ibidem novis conviciis usurpatur a laicis, et, ut super hoc cum de illo agendum fuerit ad forinsecum recurratur judicium, jam ex parte Regia est publicè proclamatum. Fidei vero ac jurisjurandi modum quis abnuat inter spiritualia negotia, nisi quis de fide non senserit computandum, et cum carne se in hac parte spiritui contumaciter praeferre, coeperunt in partibus vestris regia scripta discurrere, per quae in regis notam et regni jacturam redundant, ne quis ad observationem juramenti vel fidei per censuram ecclesiasticam cogatur, inhibetur.

SANE, licet sit de antiqua ejusdem regni consuetudine introductum, et velut humanae disciplinae consonum pacificè usque ad hoc tempus observatum, ut praelati quandem poenam infligant pecuniariam, pro delictis quae ad censuram ecclesiasticam noscuntur pertinere, cum delinquentes perspexerint spirituali gladio, quo non est poena severior, feriendos. Jam regni praedicti magnates, et alii temporali praediti potestate, consuetudinem immutare volentes laudabilem, subditis suis ne hujusmodi poenae pareant interdiciunt.

cunt. Ad ea insuper quae ab humani jure dominii divinae potestatis auctoritas abdicavit, ministrorum sui cultûs usibus profutura, praesumptuosa nimis atque damnabilis eorundem magnatum prorogatur audacio de foeno, molendinis, pasuis decimas solvi ecclesiasticas interdicens. Si qui vero super iis praestandis in judicium coram ecclesiasticis judiciis evocantur, actores persequi jus divinum, aut judices super eo justitiam exhibere poscentibus, missa sub nomine regis edicta prohibitoria non permittunt, quin potius hoc sub gravis poenae interminatione proposita iidem judices coguntur jam rite prolatis nuper sententias revocare. Clerici vero uxorati ejusdem regni, qui clericalem deferentes tonsuram clericali gaudere solent privilegio, et cum bonis suis sub ecclesiasticae protectionis manere praesidio ab antiquo, solitae immunitatis beneficiis exuuntur, et sub nova rediguntur onera servitutis. Verum, ne parum illis esset per hoc in Scoticanam ecclesiam deliquisse, peccatum adjece-  
runt, non satis veniale in Romanam, dum plenitudinem potestatis qua Deus sedem Apostolicam praedidit, quantum in ipsis est vacuare conantes, clericos literarum nostrarum impetratores, et judices delegatos a nobis ab agendo vel cognoscendo, commissa tractare negotia prolatis regiis prohibitionibus et interminationibus non permittunt, in ejusdem sedis intolerabilem injuriam et contemptum; verum quia [l. quamvis] pastorum interest praecipuè pro salute gregis, et pro decore libertatis ecclesiasticae se objicere ascendentibus ex adverso, nonnulli de clero ut concussis columnis

lumnis aedificium corruat adversus pontifices suos, impias, ut dicitur, inter se colligationes et conspirationes innectunt, in periculum ecclesiastici statûs et ordinis, et suarum perniciem animarum. Gravia sunt haec, nec possunt sine culpa incorrecta relinqui, vel dissimulatione aliquâ praeteriri: Quae quidem, ex eo praecipuè, quod in quibusdam religiosis et clericis cooperationis habere dicuntur favorem, a quibus in laicos, quos salutaribus remediis a tantorum peste morborum curare debuerant, corruptela prodicitur, zelum excitant salutiferae ultionis, et tempestivum suadent medicinae antidotum praeparari, ne in regis dispendium, quem aetatis infirmitas, ut dicitur, ista non capiens excusare quodammodo videtur a culpa, et in actores ejus retorquere delictum, nec non in detrimentum regni, lapsus fidei et ruinam catholicae libertatis praemissa malorum initia per morosam tolerantiam in illis Christianae \*\*\* ipsis invalescant. Cum enim qui talia nequiter agunt vel agenda suadent, non sit incerta damnatio, et promptum in eos apud Deum durae animadversionis judicium non dormitet, pastoralis sollicitudinis zelus tunc in eis miseretur et commodat, cum in pleclendis culpis eorum severius excandescit. Quare fraternitati vstrae per Apostolica scripta districtè praecipiendo mandamus, quatenus consiliarios, officiales, ministros regis, regnique ejusdem magnates, et alios tam religiosos et clericos, quam laicos, haec et iis similia praesumentes, eorumque fautores, qui negligenter, cum possent perturbare, perversos fovere videntur, ut praesumptiones praedictas

in statum debitum sine morae dispendio suadeant revocare, et a confimilibus prorsus abstineant in futurum; non impediētes ullo modo per se, vel alios, vel impediri quantum in eis sit permittentes ecclesiarum rectores, et clericos, super praemissis, et aliis, uti pacificè jurisdictionibus, libertatibus, et immunitatibus, in temporalibus suis bonis, juxta constitutiones canonicas et civiles, ac consuetudines approbatas, per excommunicationem in personas, et interdictum in terris, si laici fuerint, quacunque etiam dignitatis, vel potestatis eminentiâ praefulgentes. Si vero clerici cujuscunque dignitatis, gradûs, vel ordinis, per privationem, vel suspensionem perpetuam a praelationibus, dignitatibus, et beneficiis ecclesiasticis, auctoritate nostrâ, sublati cujuslibet appellationis obstaculo, de plano, et absque judiciorum strepitu, quotiens expedierit vel oportuerit, et super hoc requisiti fueritis, compellatis, praelatos nihilominus et clericos saepe fati regni quos laicorum ad opprimendam totaliter ecclesiasticam libertatem, et clerum quemcunque nunc, vel in posterum, contra solemnitatem judicariam constiterint intentores; nisi hoc celeriter emendare curaverint, moniti competenter cum literis nostris causam ipsorum contingentibus personaliter infra peremptorium terminum eis praefigendum a vobis ad sedem apostolicam, ab officiis beneficiisque suspensos, venire rogatis, prout egerint recepturos. Subditos quoque quos contra praelatos conspirationis facinus deprehenderitis admisisse poenâ canonicâ pun-



nientes, non obstante, si aliquibus eorum forsitan sub quacunque forma uberiore generaliter, vel specialiter, a sede Apostolica sit indultum, quod excommunicari vel suspendi non possunt; vel ipsorum terrae subijci ecclesiastico interdictione, seu quavis aliâ dictae sedis indulgentiâ, per quam commissa vobis jurisdictionis executio impediri valeat vel deferri, et de qua plenam et expressam in literis vestris fieri mentionem oporteat, seu constitutione de duabus dietis edicta in concilio generali, sive quod Scotis dicimur concessisse, ut extra regnum Scotiae nequeant per literas apostolicas ad iudicium evocari. Et, si non omnes iis exequendis potueritis interesse, duo vestrum nihilominus ea exsequantur. Dat. Jan. pridie Kal. Junii. pontificatus nostri anno octavo. Deo gratias.

## No. VIII.

THE following Charter granted by Alexander III. to an ancestor of the family of Erskine of Mar, illustrates the condition of the *Servi ascripti glebae*, at that period.

ALEXANDER, Dei gratia, Rex Scotorum, omnibus probris hominibus totius terre sue—Salutem. Sciant presentes et

et futuri quod ALEUMUS de MESER, filius et heres quondam ALEUMI de MESER, totam terram suam de TULLICOUNTRY, cum pertinentiis, in feodo de Clackmanan, quam de nobis tenuit hereditarie, per defectum seruitii de dicta terra nobis debiti, coram pluribus nostri Regni magnatibus, scilicet, ALEXANDRO CUMYN, Comite de Bouchan, tunc Justiciario Scotie, HUGONE de ABYRNITH, Magistro, W. WISCHARD tunc Cancellario, FERGUSIO CUMYN, WALTERO de ABERNYTH, WILLIELMO de LYSURSER, et NICHOLAO de RUTYRFORD, ac multis aliis, die Sancte Trinitatis, anno gratie millesimo ducentesimo sexagesimo primo, apud Castrum Puellarum, per fustum et baculum nobis reddidisset, et totum jus suum quod habuit in dicta terra cum pertinentiis, vel habere potuit pro se et heredibus suis in perpetuum quietum clamasset, nos totam dictam terram de TULLICOUNTRY, cum pertinentibus, WILLIELMO Comiti de MARR, dilecto nostro et fideli pro homagio et servitio suo, dedimus concessimus, et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus, sine aliquo retinemento, tenendam et habendam eidem WILLIELMO, et heredibus suis, de nobis et heredibus nostris in feode et hereditate per easdem divisas per quas WALTERUS, filius ALANI Senescalli, tunc Justiciarius Scotie, et ROGERUS AUENEL, tunc vicecomes de STRIBELYN, predicto ALEUMO, patri dicti Aleumi, ex precepto inclito recordationis domini ALEXANDRI Regis, patris nostri carissimi, assignauerunt et tradiderunt, cum incremento quod per

per eodẽdem WALTERUM filium ALANI, et ROGERUM AUEL factum fuit, MATHEO CLERICO de Tullicoultry, in nemore, in saltibus, in planis et asperis, in terris et aquis, in pratis et pascuis, in moris et marefuis, in stagnis et malcudinis, cum focco et facca, cum furca et fossa, cum *Tal et Them et infandethes*, et cum omnibus aliis justis pertinentiis suis, ET CUM OMNIBUS NATIUIS EJUSDEM TERRÆ, qui die collationis factę predicto Aleumio patri dicti Aleumi, in dicta terra manentes fuerunt, libere, quiete, plenarie et honorifice, per seruitium unius militis, saluis nostris eleemosinis. Concessimus etiam eidem WILLIELMO, ut ipse et heredes sui, habeant et teneant dictam terram in liberum forestum. Quare firmiter prohibemus, ne quis sine eorum licentia in predicta terra secet, aut venetur super nostram plenariam forisfacturam decem librarum. Testibus, venerabili patre GAMESINO, episcopo Sancti Andree, ALEXANDRIO CUMYN, Comite de Bouchan Justiciario Scotie, WALTERO Comite de MONTETH, JOHANNE CUMYN, WILLIELMO de BREECHYN, EUSTACHIO de Turribus, REGINALDO LE CHIEN, apud Forfar, viceffimo primo die Decembris, anno regni nostri quarto decimo.

No. IX.

THESE Lines from Propertius illustrate the state of the arts and commerce in Britain, in the Age of Augustus. I have met with them, in my reading, since the publication of the First Vol. to which they properly refer.

*Effeda cælatiſſiſſe Britanna jugiſſi.*

PROPERTIUS, Eleg. L. II. E. I.

Nunc etiam *inſeſſos* demens imitare *Britannos*,

Ludis et *externo tinſa* nitore caput.

An ſi *cærules* quædam ſua tempora fuco

Tinxerit, idcirco *cærule* forma bona eſt?

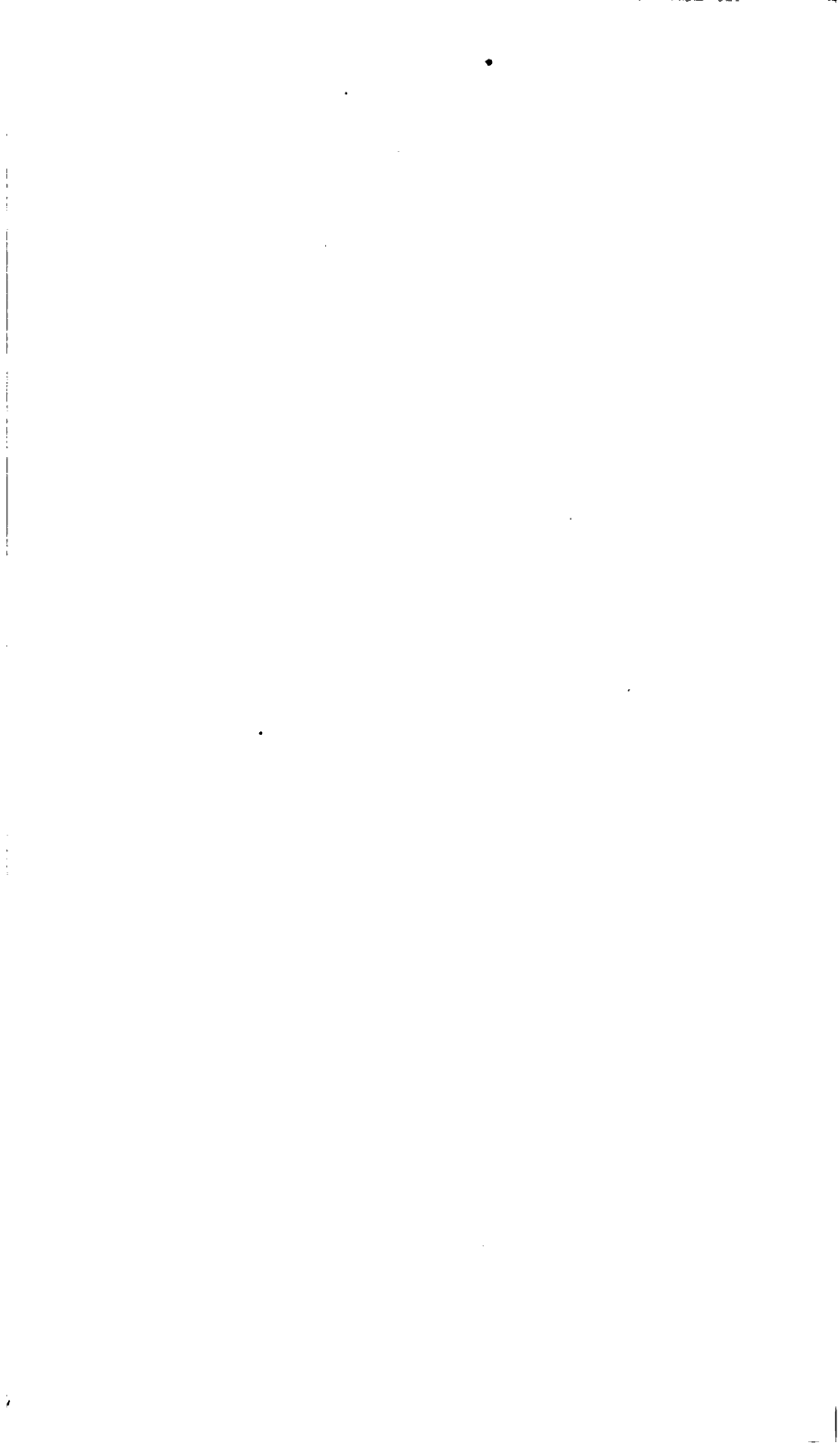
Ut natura dedit, ſic omnis recta figura.

Turpiſſi Romano *Belgius* ore color.

Eleg. L. II. E. 14.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

ac Vh.











JAN 29 1930



